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Contents

The Week 205

Editorials

A Conservative Tax Program 208
How Much Social Security? 209
Another Supreme Court Fiasco 211

General Articles

Trouble in Coal ..... Sterling D. Spero 212
The New Crime of Cuba ..... Carleton Beals 216
Political Lexicon ..... Leo C. Rosten 219
Washington Notes ..... T. R. B. 220
Other People's Money ..... John T. Flynn 221
On the Labor Front ..... William P. Mangold 222
Recorded Music ..... B. H. Haggin 223

Correspondence 224

The King, Our Lady, Courage and Fortune .. Stark Young 226

Books in Review

The Impartial Essence ..... Kenneth Burke 227
Reaction in the Saddle ..... Herman Simpson 228
Success Story ..... Peter Olden 229
Science: Weapon or Tool? ..... Harold Ward 230
Counsellor of Perfection ..... Alfred Kazin 230
The Disassembly Line ..... Murray Godwin 231
Books in Brief 231

The Week

A NEW bombshell has been exploded in Europe, in the form of the Anglo-German naval agreement, under which Germany gets a navy 35 percent as large as the British, except as to submarines, where the ratio is 45 percent. The French, Italians and Russians are up in arms over the new treaty. The French declare that Great Britain had no right to undertake a unilateral denunciation of existing naval treaties, that in view of her action all such agreements are now dead and that because of Germany's new strength, they themselves must revise their naval estimates upward. The Russians, as might be expected, are also gravely disturbed. They have long believed that Germany intends to seize the Ukraine if she is ever strong enough or can make sufficiently powerful alliances. For a long time, the Russians held that Great Britain was secretly in favor of this German scheme, and it would take little to restore this old belief among the diplomats in Moscow. Italy, too, is angered by the Anglo-German agreement; the conviction has been growing in the mind of Mussolini that Europe is not big enough for Hitler and himself, and especially with Austria lying between their two nations. He will use the new German fleet as an excuse to increase his own military strength, within the limits set by Italy's desperate economic and financial position.

THE British defend the treaty by saying that Hitler has now accepted a definite limitation of tonnage and that an unrestricted building race is thus avoided. To this, nearly all Europe replies that Hitler will build what he pleases in any case, and will violate the new naval compact as readily as he has already torn up the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. Political observers remember that Der Führer in his autobiography several years ago predicted it would be necessary to strike a bargain with England before crushing France. In seeming support of this interpretation is the unqualified pleasure displayed in Berlin over the new treaty. The startling alteration in the European balance of power brought about by the week's developments is fresh evidence that in international diplomacy the one permanent fact is that nothing is permanent—except, perhaps, the underlying human aspirations on which the dance of diplomacy is based.

PRESIDENT Roosevelt last week startled the country by a sudden demand for sharp increases in the taxes on wealth. His program includes new imposts on large inheritances and gifts, large tax rates on incomes of over $1,000,000, graduated taxes on corporation incomes and, ultimately, the use of the taxing power to destroy all holding companies, as the President is already seeking to destroy them in the public-utility field through the Wheeler-Rayburn bill. No sooner had Mr. Roosevelt's plan appeared in print (causing a sharp break in the stock market) than charges began to be heard that this was a mere political scheme to cut the ground from under the feet of Huey Long and other Left critics. The conservatives, and especially those in the Republican ranks, thus hoped to get a double advantage: they cast doubt on the President's sincerity, and they sought to identify his plan with the Huey Long program. Even The New York Times lent itself, perhaps inadvertently, to this type of

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propaganda by a headline that referred to the Roosevelt scheme as "wealth-sharing taxes," which of course it is far from being. To those who questioned his sincerity the President replied on Monday night by demanding immediate action on his entire plan with the possible exception of the constitutional amendment to do away with tax-exempt securities. It remains to be seen, of course, whether Mr. Roosevelt can get the legislation he wants from a Congress that has recently shown such pronounced conservative tendencies.

FIRST place in the week's legislative news must be given to the fact that the Senate at last adopted the social-security bill, which had passed the House of Representatives some time ago. The House bill was an extraordinarily weak and ineffective measure; it made a beginning at social security so feeble that it could hardly be called a real start. The Senate bill, as we point out elsewhere in these pages, is a great deal worse. It is hard to understand why the Senate progressives should have made no real fight against a measure that looks very much as though it were intended to sabotage the whole plan, particularly as regards unemployment insurance. Not the least interesting aspect of the bill's progress through the Senate was the lobbying of the great life-insurance companies, as skillful and certainly as lavish a performance as Washington has seen in many years. Other legislative developments of the week include the passage of the Wagner labor-disputes bill by the House, with only one bad amendment, which would prohibit interplant collective bargaining—a proposal so fantastically outrageous that few believe it will survive in the conference committee. The amendments to the A.A.A. have also passed the House, in a form much modified to avoid collision with the Supreme Court ruling in the Schechter case. The Senate has passed the Bankhead bill authorizing a bond issue of $1,000,000,000 with which to buy land, particularly in the South, for the benefit of tenant farmers, many of whom are in such a desperate plight. Mr. Roosevelt has been flatly defied by the House Interstate Commerce Committee in regard to the Wheeler-Rayburn bill. The Committee, at this writing, refuses to accept the provision that after 1942, public-utility holding companies shall survive only by permission of the Federal Power Commission, and has made other changes greatly weakening the measure. The increasing conservatism of Congress is further evidenced by the revolt against other parts of Mr. Roosevelt's "must" program. There is now bitter opposition to the Guffey bill for partial rationalization of the coal industry, and to the Eccles banking bill, with its provision for increased government control of the Federal Reserve System.

THE Senate Munitions Committee has now given us the first fruits of its long investigation. In a preliminary report, it summarizes its study and recommends immediate enactment of a group of bills designed to remedy some of the evils it has uncovered. It wants collusive bidding and excessive profits by private manufacturers of munitions prevented, and demands that patents on new military inventions by American citizens should not be allowed to fall into the hands of foreign governments. The committee proposes that lobbyists representing the "merchants of death" should be forced to register, reveal their incomes and itemize their expenditures. It suggests maximum profits of five percent in cases where the government bears the risk and ten percent where it does not. It recites again the story of how the Geneva Conference for naval limitation was disrupted by propagandists for the shipbuilders and tells how prices on naval equipment immediately thereafter went up. The Committee expresses its conviction that, on the whole, the cost of building warships in government-owned yards is less than in private ones. This report is of course only the first chapter in a long story. While bills have already been introduced embodying some of its recommendations, there seems little chance of their being passed at this session. Meanwhile, the world drifts steadily toward war, the United States follows a policy that augments this danger, and the munitions makers continue all their old activities, hardly even disconcerted by the spotlight of publicity lately turned upon them.

GOOD news comes by the cables. The Associated Press reports that the Nobel Peace Prize is to be given to two men whose outstanding political characteristic is their opposition to German National Socialism and all that it represents. One of these is Carl von Ossietzky, prisoner in a Nazi concentration camp, in favor of whose candidacy a world-wide campaign has been carried on, following his nomination by the late Jane Addams. The other is Thomas Masaryk, President of Czechoslovakia. With unparalleled impudence, Joseph Göbbels, German Propaganda Minister, has proposed Hitler as a candidate for the prize. Instead, it will go to the two men whose nomination must have angered the Nazis the most.

THOMAS MASARYK has just demonstrated his unalterable opposition to Fascism and all it represents by refusing to include the Nazi Sudeten-German Heimatsfront in the Czechoslovakian Cabinet. One feels that it was no easy decision for this old-school democrat to shut out from the government of his country the party that polled the highest vote in the last election. But the Nazis' resentment against the upright Masaryk is as nothing compared to their hatred for the former editor of the anti-militarist, anti-fascist Weltbühne. As director of this militant organ, von Ossietzky revealed the secret operations of Germany's militarists, he scored its militarist policies, he decried its partisan judiciary. Murder to von Ossietzky was murder, even when it was approved and sanctioned by the General Staff. Late in 1931 he was sentenced to

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eighteen months in prison for "betraying military secrets." He refused to seek to escape the country. "It is not enough to preach pacifism," he said. "One must be willing to fight and suffer for it." Later he was released and then rearrested. Subjected to every refinement of mental and physical cruelty, he was finally taken to the worst of Germany's concentration camps. In prison and concentration camp he has borne tortures and humiliations with proud fortitude. No provocation, however cruel, say those of his fellow prisoners who have since been released, could shake the dignity and pride of conviction of this brilliant and sensitive intellectual. In honoring this man the Norwegian Parliament will accord recognition to the only pacifism worthy of the name—a pacifism that is not only willing to fight uncompromisingly for its convictions, but speaks loudest when it is held behind prison bars.

VIOLATIONS of civil liberties continue to increase in the United States. Since our last reporting of the situation, the Dunckel-Baldwin bill has been signed by the Governor of Michigan and is due to become law on September 1. This bill makes an extremely broad definition of what it means to advocate government overthrow by violence, classifies this offense as a felony punishable by as much as fourteen years in prison and a $5,000 fine, and provides for a loyalty oath not only from teachers, but students as well, at all state-supported schools, colleges and universities. In New York, President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University, about to sail for France aboard the "Normandie," said, "I never read the newspapers," and refused to call a public hearing in the case of the eleven students, technicians and instructors dismissed from Columbia Medical Center, or to intervene in the case in any other way. President Butler also ignored a protest presented by the International League Against War and Fascism in the name of a large number of European professors, intellectual leaders and students. In the state of Oregon, which has specific laws that prohibit injunctions and guarantee labor the right to picket, the Governor overrode these laws, armed state officers with billy-clubs and ordered them to break up picket lines of striking lumber workers. Despite the fact that the strikers had taken the precaution of leasing several vacant lots for their headquarters, they were driven from their own land and brutally beaten with clubs the size of baseball bats by officers carrying out the Governor's order to "paddle 'em down the road."

THE question of continuing subsidies for American merchant shipping has again come to a head as a result of several recent developments. On June 18, 19 and 20, Ewing Y. Mitchell, who was summarily dismissed as Assistant Secretary of Commerce by the President on June 15, appeared before the Senate Commerce Committee to substantiate his charges that "improper favoritism and graft" abound in the Department of Commerce, particularly in connection with the administration of shipping aid. On June 18 the Special Senate Committee on Ocean and Air Mail Contracts, headed by Senator Black, made public a preliminary report, signed by the majority of the members, roundly denouncing the subsidy system and advocating government ownership and operation of the merchant marine as the only equitable solution. Finally, two days later, the House Merchant Marine Committee brought in a favorable report on the Copeland-Bland bill, which would perpetuate government aid, though with certain safeguards against the recurrence of too flagrant abuses.

MR. Mitchell's testimony unfortunately failed to live up to advance indications. By repeating, for the most part, charges that were already a matter of public record, he only succeeded in irritating the Senate Committee and in conveying the erroneous impression that his allegations had no basis in fact. Those who would know about the unconscionable malpractices and abuses that have developed in the administration of ship subsidies should turn instead to the records of the Black Committee and the report of the Post Office Department's investigation into mail contracts. There they will find that notwithstanding the payment of more than $162,000,000 in government subsidies over the last six or seven years, the United States has only a poor, largely obsolete merchant marine. They will discover, furthermore, that much of this government largesse went to line the pockets of shipping promoters, who were ready enough to accept high salaries, bonuses and dividends but permitted the government to shoulder the risk of investing the capital.

THE strawberry fields of eastern North Carolina furnish a recent instance of the way in which the threat of being withdrawn from relief rolls is held as a club over the heads of workers. With seasonal crops such as strawberries, the demand for labor is widespread and intense for a comparatively brief period, and then virtually ceases. At the height of the demand, local farmers set up a great howl about "those lazy loafers on relief, who won't work even when you offer them a job." In many cases, as happened in North Carolina, the farmers succeed in getting the local relief authorities to issue an order that any person who is offered a job and refuses to take it will be dropped from the relief rolls. The effect of such an order in enabling farmers to maintain bad wage scales and working conditions is obvious. Desperate as was their need, many workers in North Carolina chose to have their sole means of sustenance cut off rather than go to work under prevailing conditions. The E.R.A. office in Wilmington, after futile efforts to induce local newspapers to make a survey of conditions, sent its own investigators into the field. The State Com-

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missioner of Labor had promised the berry pickers transportation to and from the fields; food and housing while there; and a wage return of $1.50 to $2 a day, net, after all expenses were paid. After a five-day study of representative farms, the E.R.A. investigators reported the workers being quartered like cattle in one and two-room houses, fifteen and twenty persons eating and sleeping in one room; food furnished in no case; inadequate or totally lacking sanitary facilities; and the highest possible average net earning was only 35 cents a day.

THE announcement heralding the creation of a national theatre under the new work-relief program turns out to have been only a shrewd bit of press agentry, conducted in behalf of certain Broadway producers who are considering plays written by unemployed theatre groups. However, during the coming year there will be a much expanded unemployed theatre program. About 6,500 bona-fide unemployed actors still remain on relief in New York, Chicago and San Francisco, and plans are under way to give them all employment under the new Works Progress Division. For the first time, money will be available for scenery and properties. The experiences of several F.E.R.A. theatre groups, who made scenery from the blue-and-white striped bed-ticking left over from the F.E.R.A. mattress-making program, need not be repeated. The saving of the depression generation of young actors for the theatre is one of the most civilized acts of the relief authorities.

IF THERE were a Nobel Prize for absurd and illogical government propaganda. a strong contender this year would be the argument by which Mussolini seeks to justify to the Italian people his assault on Ethiopia. His actions are so completely in the worst tradition of nineteenth-century imperialism that even Il Duce feels the need of explaining them. Therefore the word is going around that Italy needs larger territory in East Africa because her population is growing and she must "find room for this huge increase every year." Replies to this are several: 1. It is not proposed to plant a large, permanent Italian colony in East Africa, and it is doubtful whether many individuals could be induced to stay there under any circumstances. 2. Mussolini's whole idea has been to increase the Italian population *in Italy;* he has repeatedly said this is necessary for military reasons. 3. In spite of all his efforts, the Italian birth rate is declining steadily; if the present trend is maintained a few years longer, Italy will not need to worry about surplus population. 4. The experience of the whole world, and Italy in particular, proves that sending emigrants out of a country does not solve the problem of population pressure at home. Italy exported about a million people a year for a quarter of a century and at the end of that time was as badly off (or as Mussolini would say, as well off) as at the beginning of the period. If this is the best that can be done by way of defending the Ethiopian adventure the case must be a bad one indeed.

A Conservative Tax Program

THE President's proposal for higher inheritance and gift taxes, larger tax rates on incomes of over $1,000,000 and a graduated rate on corporate net income is, contrary to the opinion both of its opponents and of many of its supporters, a conservative measure in the literal sense of the word. If we believed that capitalism could be made to work well and ought to be conserved, we should enthusiastically favor it. The fact that the most noisy defenders of capitalism regard it as a threat to the system and will do their best to defeat it is simply one more of the many internal contradictions by which capitalism is sapping its own vitality.

Let us look at the proposal first as a revenue measure. For months the conservatives have been warning us against inflation, which, they said, was certain to arise from government spending of borrowed funds. Small as the immediate danger is, there is no doubt that ultimately there is a grave threat of this sort. Certainly, if our economy is to right itself, the budget must sooner or later be balanced. Budget-balancing is virtually item number one of the conservative creed. How is this to be done? There are only two ways: first, to decrease expenditures; second, to increase revenues. No conservative has ever proposed a way of largely decreasing spending, under conditions like the present, that would not jeopardize the system. With over ten million persons unable to find jobs and twenty millions on public relief—largely inadequate relief—any administration could cease feeding them only at the peril of civil peace. Public works have never been large enough to offset materially the construction slump, but to reduce these works in depression would not help business. Or perhaps the budget-balancers would like to press for immediate collection of R.F.C. loans to railroads, banks and other businesses, or for a unilateral and drastic cut in the army and navy, or for forced reduction of interest on the national debt? (These three are by far the largest categories of expenditure.) A logical conservative program must look for additional revenue. Sales, excise and nuisance taxes of all kinds raise costs of doing business, decrease consumer purchasing power and are a drag on recovery. Taxes on large inheritances, incomes and profits do not affect business costs or the incomes of the masses of consumers. They tap the reservoirs of surplus that arise in the system. Surely it is a moderate program, if revenue must be increased, first to let business make profit and then to levy on the profit.

It will of course be objected that in time of

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depression these sources are not large enough to provide the needed revenue. The objection is true, but damaging to the conservative position itself. It leads to the conclusion that so long as depression lasts, the budget cannot be balanced without oppressive taxation on the public in general, without taxation that in itself will retard recovery. It proves that an economic system that generates deep depressions must choose between equally dangerous alternatives.

Next, let us consider the proposal from the point of view of a permanent social policy. Those who logically advocate private enterprise do so largely on the ground that it enables the most competent men to accumulate wealth and govern business, that it acts as a stimulus to endeavor. But these arguments do not apply to the inheritance of great wealth. Such inheritance passes on the power to a generation that has not won it in the competitive struggle, that has "earned" no reward and is likely to be incapable of governing. It puts obstacles in the way of economic opportunity. Certainly to distribute inherited wealth, except for those modest amounts required for the security of bereaved families, would help to save capitalism—if the arguments of its adherents are sound.

Heavy taxes on large personal incomes and graduated taxes on corporate profits are, as Mr. Roosevelt pointed out, hindrances upon concentration of economic power. They tend to favor the small business man. Now conservative economic theory, from Adam Smith down, is built upon the assumption that competition among relatively small enterprises is the major corrective influence upon which we can rely to keep capitalism going and to remedy its abuses. No sound conservative theorist looks with equanimity upon monopoly or even upon gigantic enterprises that, though not monopolies, are big enough to dominate their fields. The first requisite of a workable capitalism is to preserve small units and bring about effective competition. A large class of small business men is also, from the political and social point of view, the only basis on which bourgeois democracy can maintain its strength amidst the class conflict of the big employer and the propertyless worker. Capitalism as we know it is certainly doomed, for either the big units that now control the bulk of the nation's business must be governed by the masses in the interest of the masses, or they will be compelled to abolish political democracy in the interest of the economic power of their private owners. Those who, like Mr. Justice Brandeis, are afraid of bigness and want to break up the big units are today the true conservatives. Their program, if it can be effectuated, supplies the only reliable formula for saving capitalistic democracy.

Here again, as in the case of the problem of revenue, the pertinent question is whether the object can be achieved. Certainly no such moderate program as is suggested by Mr. Roosevelt will achieve it. Existing tax rates on large incomes have not much hindered the immense concentration of financial power that exists. Increasing these rates on incomes of over $1,000,000 a year will scarcely affect the situation. We now have a tax on corporate net income of 13¾ percent. To graduate it, as Mr. Roosevelt suggests, from 10¾ percent for small profits to 16¾ for big ones will scarcely break up the big industrial units, nor will it restore enough competition to make any visible difference. There is, moreover, grave doubt whether Congress, facing the opposition of business large and small, will pass the proposed tax measure.

Our expectation is that a conservative program aimed at creating a workable capitalism through the abolition of big business, whether by means of taxation or through other measures, will fail. It will meet just as sturdy and irrational opposition as would a genuinely socialistic program. Any campaign to effectuate it will be interpreted as a harassment of industry and finance; it will injure "confidence"; it will lead to sabotage on the part of the big interests that still have the legal right to say how much they will produce, what they will charge for it and what wages they will pay. Unless industry produces abundance, taxation cannot balance the budget, and an attempt to redistribute wealth is pointless because there is not enough wealth to go round. But industry will not produce abundance if the government seriously tries to disorganize its big units. We cannot retrace a hundred years of economic history. Here, as in so many other respects, the interests of particular capitalists and aggregations of capitalism will effectually blockade a line of action that might theoretically restore health and youth to capitalism as a whole.

How Much Social Security?

WHEN THE House of Representatives passed the social-security bill some weeks ago, The New Republic said that "we are disappointed with some of the chief provisions of the measure as it has passed the House. . . . The hope for amelioration of the worst weaknesses of the bill must now rest with the Senate." We are obliged to report that the Senate has passed the measure in a form substantially worse than that enacted by the House. About all one can say for the bill is that it does make some sort of beginning at unemployment insurance and national old-age pensions. It will of course be modified in future sessions of Congress, though with enormous difficulties in the process of correcting the present mistakes. It is extraordinary that the administration should have ignored the experience of nearly all other civilized countries, and should have failed to listen to any of the leading American experts in this field.

An omnibus measure, the bill covers ten subjects, makes ten appropriations and embodies three different principles of operation: (1) It sets up varied

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federal grants-in-aid to states which establish certain laws. (2) It provides for a national system of compulsory contributory old-age insurance. (3) It establishes a tax-offset system of unemployment insurance whereby the federal excise tax of three percent, levied on certain employers, can be offset up to 90 percent by employers in those states which set up a similar tax system.

The subsidy system is applied to states granting old-age pensions to persons sixty-five years of age and over under certain qualifications, to states with mothers' pension laws, to pensions for the blind, for infant and maternity-welfare provisions, for varied child-welfare activities and for public-health services. Since the subsidy plan is definitely constitutional and is rooted in traditional principles, having been a common American practice from the first days of the Republic, this part of the bill is constitutionally sound and, on the whole, socially constructive. Although, as passed by Congress, the bill does not embody the desirable standards for state laws as conditions for federal subsidies contained in the original draft, it is generally believed that this constitutes a significant step towards old-age security, more adequate mothers' pensions and provisions for the blind, child-welfare and health services. These federal grants may be expected to encourage and stimulate states to enact new laws and to liberalize existing statutes. The inadequate provisions will undoubtedly be improved upon in the future. To the extent that these aim to provide purchasing power from general taxation to those now without any such power, they are definite steps towards recovery. There is, of course, a possibility that states now paying old-age pensions may reduce them and let the federal government carry the rest of the load.

From the very beginning, the wisdom of the tax-offset system for unemployment insurance was questioned. The subsidy system, suggested by some of the experts on the Committee on Economic Security and a majority of the President's Advisory Council on Economic Security, was rejected in favor of the present plan, which offers little or no incentive to states to enact unemployment-insurance laws. The appeal is largely directed to employers, who are paradoxically penalized at least three-tenths of one percent whenever a state plan is enacted. Since the bill sets up no standards for state unemployment-insurance system, forty-eight divergent standards may result, and create endless confusion, bad feeling on the part of the unemployed and disparity among states. The problem of migratory workers is not met at all. There are tremendous differences in the six existing state unemployment-insurance laws, enacted prior to the passage of the present bill. The clumsy language and contradictory provisions of this part of the measure will either make it almost totally unworkable or lead into endless social difficulties. The setting up of two duplicating systems of taxation will arouse unnecessary antagonism which may seriously affect the entire movement for unemployment insurance. The constitutionality of this phase of the bill has been repeatedly questioned. Court decisions have denied the right of Congress to pass a tax in order to induce specific state legislation. Under the Senate amendment, which permits individual-reserves plans, employment-guarantee schemes, as well as pooled funds, it will be possible for certain employers to pay no contributions at all, thus creating unequal taxation and multiplying constitutional difficulties.

Even more questionable is the plan establishing a system of compulsory contributory old-age insurance. Doubts as to the constitutionality of this plan have been considerably strengthened by the Supreme Court decision on the Railroad Retirement Act, while from an economic point of view this system may have serious consequences. Originally, the bill provided for an ultimate contribution of five percent of wages, which would reach its peak only after twenty years. At the President's instigation, the House stepped up these contributions to a total of six percent within twelve years. This tax is to be paid solely by employers and employees in equal shares. This is considered unnecessary by all real students of the problem and the huge reserves thus quickly amassed may involve serious dangers. In removing so much purchasing power from immediate use it goes contrary to all other plans of the New Deal. The Committee estimates that the reserves will rise to about $10,000,000,000 in 1949 and to $32,000,000,000 in 1970. Such a huge sum will constitute a great temptation for Congress, which could use it as a political football. It will create a serious problem of investment, and should inflation come, it may create a real menace. It will tend to freeze the depression and hamper recovery.

The old-age-insurance plan does not provide for any redistribution of the national income or for increasing purchasing power. On the contrary, it places the largest burden of the future support of the aged upon the workers and industry. Since the latter will very likely pass on its levy to the consumers, it will mean that the employees, in their dual role of workers and consumers, will be made to bear practically the entire burden of the support of wage and salaried workers. It not only places a back-breaking obligation upon the present generation but it actually attempts to relieve the wealthier groups from their share towards workers' old-age support which they have carried for centuries. No other government has ever dared to establish a system of this nature without some governmental aid. The Senate amendment, presumably inserted at the instigation of the powerful insurance lobby, to exempt private pension plans, is not only socially wicked but adds further to the constitutional obstacles. In short, even allowing for all the possible improvements in the conference committee, the measure is one of which the Roosevelt administration will have little reason to be proud as time passes and the country begins the slow task of rectifying the mistakes that have now been made.

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Another Supreme Court Fiasco

IN THE hullaballoo created by the Supreme Court decision holding the N.R.A. unconstitutional, another ruling of great importance, handed down the following week, has been almost entirely overlooked. In the second decision, that in the Maryland Telephone Case, the court showed once more its inability to deal in a realistic manner with the economic problems of the day, and declared again that effective rate regulation is unconstitutional. A six-to-three majority rejected the index-number method of determining present value, gave new life to the now thoroughly discredited "trance" method, and served notice that the Court will renew its traditional practice of directing judicially the administrative minutiae of utility rate making. The Maryland Commission sought, reasonably enough, to translate an earlier valuation of the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone property into an equivalent current dollar value by use of a composite index number—and thus to avoid the cost and delay incident to an engineering reappraisal. On appeal, the District Federal Court held the method to be inappropriate, and found that the new lower rates set by the Commission were unlawful to the extent that they would fail to produce a fair return on depreciated book cost.

Both the Commission and the lower court were rebuffed by the Supreme Court. Speaking for the majority, Mr. Justice Roberts found "an obvious objection" to the Commission's method to be that the indices on which the Commission's composite index was constructed had not been "prepared as an aid to the appraisal of property." A more fundamental defect in the Commission's method was said to be that "the result is affected by sudden shifts in price level." And the value found by the lower court, said Mr. Justice Roberts, "is as arbitrary as that of the Commission, for it is unsupported by findings based upon evidence."

The brilliant reply of Mr. Justice Stone, joined in dissent by Justices Brandeis and Cardozo, seems completely convincing both on constitutional and substantive issues. It is a thoroughly realistic statement. Noting that confiscation was the sole issue raised by the pleadings, it points out that the Commission was reversed because the method by which it reached its conclusion was declared to be unconstitutional—with no showing of confiscation by the company, and in the very face of a rejection by the Court of the valuation on which the lower court based its findings. Indeed, said the minority, the questioned rates would produce more than 4.5 percent even on the value found by the lower court, and "there is at least grave doubt whether a return of 4.5 percent is so out of line with the current yield on invested capital as to be deemed confiscatory."

The dissent clearly shows that the Commission weighed the entire record made before it, that its index number was carefully prepared, in a reasonable exercise of its administrative discretion, for the very purpose of rate valuation, and that the "fair value" so evolved was at least as trustworthy, constitutionally, as figures typically derived from engineering appraisals and estimates. There is a sting in Mr. Justice Stone's remark that "for a period of twenty years or more of rising prices, commissions and courts, including this one, have regarded price variations as persuasive evidence that present fair value was more than cost. I see no reason for concluding that they are of less weight in times of declining prices."

Volumes could be written on the minority statement that "in assuming the task of determining judicially the present fair replacement value of the vast properties of public utilities, courts have been projected into the most speculative undertaking imposed upon them in the entire history of English jurisprudence." Since the Los Angeles Gas Case (1933) it has been widely assumed that the Court, weary of this self-imposed undertaking, would withdraw into the realm of more strictly judicial activity. While the statement in that case that the Court was concerned only with the results of valuation and not with method was in a degree meaningless—since "fair value" as a purposive figure is not a determinate amount, independent of the value theory which it is designed to express—there was reason to believe that the Court was willing to accept as non-confiscatory any valuation, however derived, not palpably unfair on its face. That position is flatly repudiated in the decision of June 3. The Court proclaims once more that the administrative details of rate valuation must proceed under its careful scrutiny and direction; further, that no shortcuts may be employed in determining reproduction cost—that there can be no substitutes for the costly, speculative, time-consuming and dissension-provoking spectacle of engineering appraisals; and that accounting and statistical records must be subordinated to a "trance" judgment that knows no guiding principle or purpose. The implications for the future of regulation are obvious.

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Trouble in Coal

COAL, the country's perennially sick industry, is again coming back into the headlines. Strikes involving 450,000 miners were barely averted in April and June. The current truce ends by July 1. A strike will be averted on that day, the miners' union says, only by the passage of the Guffey coal-stabilization bill. In its original form the bill declared coal a public utility subject to federal regulation by a government commission, set up a code with price-fixing machinery and provision for allocating and controlling production, and provided for the closing down of marginal mines and putting them in a "national coal reserve." The cost of these lands and of the "rehabilitation" of the miners thrown out of work by their retirement would be met by a $300,000,000 bond issue to be carried by a tax on coal. The bill also set up industrial-relations machinery and guaranteed the right of collective bargaining.

This bill, the child of the United Mine Workers, is but the most recent of a series of proposed measures intended to bring some degree of order into the bituminous-coal industry, to which decades of unrestricted private enterprise and individual initiative have brought, even according to Mr. Hoover, "high instability" and "great national loss." The soft-coal industry today consists of hundreds of companies ranging from small local concerns to huge Rockefeller and Mellon interests, fighting one another with all the weapons of cutthroat competition. They are fighting, furthermore, for shrinking markets—shrinking, on the one hand, because of the competition of oil, natural gas and hydro-electric power, and, on the other, because mechanical improvements during the past twenty-five years have increased the efficiency of each ton of coal by about 33 percent.

Unrestricted private initiative had greatly overdeveloped the industry long before these factors had emerged to aggravate the situation. The productive capacity of the soft-coal mines in 1913 was 635,000,000 tons, while the industry's output was about 478,000,000 tons. By 1931 the capacity had risen to 736,000,000 tons, while tonnage produced fell to 382,000,000. The World War, generally blamed for the overexpansion of the industry, merely accentuated a tendency long current.

The Miners Bear the Brunt.—Official investigating bodies as well as independent students of the coal problem have frequently called attention to the economic effects of this planless and profligate exploitation of an irreplaceable natural resource. Great as the losses have been in physical waste of coal and its chemical by-products, serious as have been the business dislocations due to the sharply fluctuating prices, the heaviest burden of the industry's chaotic condition has been borne by the coal miners. These workers already had suffered a decade of depression and unemployment when the great crash came in 1929. From 704,000 employed in the industry in 1923 the numbers declined to 522000, in the boom year of 1928. The increasing mechanization of mining, of course, contributed to this decline. By 1932 the employment in the mines had dropped to 398,000. And even with this vast unemployment the mines only operated at part time. True, they never had worked full time. Even at their highest output, in 1918, the miners averaged only 249 days of work a year. At the depth of the depression in 1932 the men who were employed had an annual average of only 145 days of work. "Too many mines and too many miners," became the common diagnosis of the ills of the industry.

One of the most striking by-products of the coal crisis was its effect on the United Mine Workers of America, once the most powerful single factor in the industry and perhaps, in the early years of the century, more powerful than the combined coal owners themselves. The crisis reduced this once great union to but a shadow of its old self. Before the New Deal was born in 1933 barely 15 percent of the industry had contracts with the U.M.W.A. Yet the tradition of a strong and militant labor organization was not destroyed. The great majority of the miners had once been union men and wanted to be so again. The organization, though driven from the field, still commanded deep loyalty and affection. Even where the United Mine Workers, because of the shortcomings and failures of its leadership, lost the confidence of the miners, the latter were not satisfied to remain unorganized but tried to set up other movements to take the place of the old union. The leadership considered the union's eclipse but a temporary setback, and with a skeleton organization in almost every field, waited for another opportunity to regain its losses.

New Unions Enter the Field.—Meanwhile, the economic condition of the miner was steadily getting worse. Wages of miners who actually got a few days' work a month fell to starvation levels. Coal was frequently sold below the cost of production. In Harlan County, Kentucky, for example, in 1931 at some mines, coal was sold for $1.09, when it cost $1.36 to produce. The companies, eager to keep their losses down, compelled their men to live in company houses and trade at company stores, where prices were frequently higher than anywhere else. No compensation was given for so-called "dead work," such as timbering the

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mine roof, cutting slate and making other preparations necessary to the actual cutting of coal. Company cheating on the weight of the miners' loads was a common practice because the unorganized workers were unable to enforce their right, frequently guaranteed by law, to have their checkweighman at the tipple. These conditions led to a series of bitter strikes and to the growth of the Communist-led National Miners' Union and various independent militant groups like the West Virginia Miners, and the Progressive Miners of America in the Illinois fields. The men in their distress turned to these new movements because the United Mine Workers seemed either to have died or to have deserted them.

The need for some sort of regulation of the destructive effects of cutthroat competition in the industry became apparent shortly after the World War. From that time to the present Guffey bill the leadership in seeking a solution of the problem came largely from the United Mine Workers. In 1919 the Nationalization Research Committee was set up and issued a report recommending a sort of modified Plumb Plan for coal, *i. e.,* government ownership of the mines with joint operation by management, labor and government. In 1923 the federal government set up its Coal Commission, which issued a voluminous report, which, in turn, gave rise to an extensive literature on what to do about coal. At its convention of 1919 the United Mine Workers favored the nationalization of the industry. This program, however, was never seriously pressed and soon came to be entirely ignored. The union, instead, turned its attention to more expedient programs of federal regulation and coöperation with the private owners of the industry. Meanwhile the principal producing companies were also seeking a solution of the problem through price-fixing, merger and consolidation, which would eliminate some of the weaker competitors.

In line with this policy a group of Eastern operators in 1931 formed a central sales agency known as Appalachian Coals, Inc. The legality of the step was contested under the anti-trust laws, but the Supreme Court of the United States gave the agency a clean bill of health, reasoning with curious inconsistency that "the industry was in distress. It suffered from overexpansion and from a serious relative decline through the growing use of substitute fuels. It was afflicted by injurious practices within itself. . . ."

For these grave reasons a sales agency seeking to control the market and maintain prices was legitimate, but only, the court went on to say, because the agency would not be able to attain its monopoly-tending objectives, since "in addition to the coal actually produced and seeking markets with defendant's coal, enormous additional quantities will be within reach and can readily be turned into channels of trade if an advance of price invites that course."

Thus the dangers of monopoly could be stopped by further overexpansion and waste, the evil effects of which Appalachian Coals was organized to check. Yet the favorable decision of the court encouraged the establishment of similar sales agencies in other districts.

Beginning with 1928 a series of bills fathered by the United Mine Workers providing for federal control of the coal industry were introduced in Congress. The first of these, the Watson bill, was based on a special investigation of mining conditions in Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia. The following session saw the introduction of the so-called Davis-Kelly bill, strongly backed by the United Mine Workers. It carried provisions not unlike those of the N.I.R.A. seeking to control trade practices and to guarantee the right of organization and collective bargaining. A similar measure, the Lewis-Hayden bill was defeated in the special session of 1932.

The New Deal Studies Coal.—Shortly after the new Congress under President Roosevelt assembled in April, 1933, the United Mine Workers again prepared to introduce their coal-control bill. Early in May of 1933 President Green and the Executive Council of the A.F. of L. called at the White House to impress upon the President the necessity of stabilizing operations and wage levels and to inform him of "the tragic situation prevailing in the mining industry." At the same time a group of influential operators met with the Secretaries of Labor and the Interior to discuss a program of stabilization similar to that embodied in the series of bills proposed by the United Mine Workers. Until now such suggestions had met the unanimous opposition of the industry. Shortly thereafter came the proposal for national recovery legislation which would apply to all industry and give coal the benefits it had hoped to derive through special legislation.

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, convinced that such legislation would give the trade unions tremendous opportunities if they were prepared to meet them, called his chief organizers together and launched a campaign of unionization that for energy and vigor has probably not been surpassed in the history of the American labor movement. Old areas where the operators had broken with the union, new fields that had never had a union before, sections in the hands of rival or independent groups rushed into the fold.

Though this made the United Mine Workers a factor to be reckoned with at the N.R.A. code negotiations, it does not mean that the signing up of members won the organization universal recognition by the operators. Far from it. The question of union recognition was the great issue.

Indicative of the dominant characteristic of the industry was the fact that the best voluntary cooperation for code-drafting purposes of which soft

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coal was capable, despite all the drive and influence of the N.R.A. at the height of its popularity, was to reduce its multitudinous conflicts to twenty-nine draft codes. Each group insisted that to come under any code but its own meant turning its affairs over to the direction of its competitors, and consequent business suicide. The United Mine Workers' insistence upon a single code only heightened this separatist sentiment. Ultimately, however, the issue of unionization reduced these conflicts to a struggle between union and non-union operators.

As union pressure grew, the non-union operators ordered a wage increase of approximately 15 percent "to coöperate with the objectives of the government to increase purchasing power." But with all its apparent generosity the new scale still fell considerably below that in the proposed code of the unionized operators. Depending on locality, the new non-union scale was anywhere from 90 cents to $1.15 a day below the union scale. And it was based on a considerably longer work week. Two days later representatives of 160,000 miners in the Southern fields, in many of which the union had never had a footing, met and pledged their support to "the National Industrial Recovery Act, to the union's efforts for the thirty-hour week and the demand for union recognition."

The Strikes Begin.—While the U.M.W.A. was thus consolidating its position to meet the resistance of the anti-union operators' bloc, the H. C. Frick Company, a subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation, began to organize company unions in its mines and to discharge and discipline employees who joined or showed sympathy with the United Mine Workers. The union answered by calling out the Frick mines on strike. The walkout quickly spread through the area and succeeded in shutting down the Frick operations completely and in drawing 50,000 miners out of the pits, not only in the Steel Company's mines but in those of other "captive" and commercial operations as well. The walkout grew so rapidly that it threatened to spread to the entire soft-coal area.

This was a threat to its recovery program that the Roosevelt administration was determined to prevent. Since the officials of the United Mine Workers wanted the administration's good will and support in the code negotiations, they were more than willing to coöperate, now that the union's strength had been demonstrated. Through the good offices of General Johnson and Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania, a truce was signed sending the miners back to work pending the adoption of the code. But instead of a single agreement between the operators and the union, two agreements were signed, one with the commercial operators, including the powerful Mellon Pittsburgh Coal Company, and one with the "captive mine" operators of the United States Steel and other steel companies. This the captive-mine workers refused to accept and persisted in going on with the strike in defiance of John L. Lewis' orders and entreaties. It was not until the administration sent Edward F. McGrady, former A.F. of L. official and Assistant Secretary of Labor, as "the official representative of the President and the United States government" literally to implore the men to return to work, that they consented to call off their strike.

An Armed Truce.—As the code negotiations proceeded, it quickly became apparent that though the non-union operators recognized the United Mine Workers to the extent of signing a truce with them to get them to call off a strike, this did not mean that they were ready to extend real recognition to the union. As the negotiations dragged on week after week and past one deadline after another set by the administration, the miners again began to grow restive and local strikes broke out in all parts of the coal country. Still the issue of unionization continued to remain the great obstacle to agreement. Sectional differences were resolved. Regions that declared they could never come under a general code capitulated, Alabama and the near-by Southern fields alone insisting on "self-determination." But still no agreement with the union. By the middle of September it was clear that the coal diggers could not be kept at work much longer by the N.R.A.'s assurance and President Lewis' counsels of patience. And when at length the administration's deadline was passed without the promised agreement, the men in western Pennsylvania took matters into their own hands and more than 30,000 of them walked out on an unauthorized "holiday" strike. The stoppage was accompanied by such violence and bloodshed, and threatened to spread with such rapidity, that the administration exerted every ounce of its influence to get some sort of agreement from the operators.

Meanwhile the miners, defying the orders of their officials, insisted in continuing the "holiday" until the operators signed a contract with the union recognizing the United Mine Workers and fixing wages and working conditions. When such a contract was signed a few days later, the President's approval gave it the force of a code under Section 7b of the N.I.R.A. The contract, which included practically all commercial operations, affected some 340,000 workers and was the most extensive collective agreement in American labor history. It gave the miners nearly everything they asked: union recognition, an eight-hour day and forty-hour week, a substantial increase in wages, arrangements regarding pay for dead work, regular payments in cash or par checks. Compulsory patronage of company stores and residence in company houses were forbidden. The check-off for union dues was promised wherever the company checked off items owed it by the miners.

The Long Fight for Union Recognition.—Yet substantial as this victory was, the miners still refused to obey their officials and call off their "holi-

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day," because the contract did not provide for union recognition by the captive mines. The big steel companies that owned these mines were willing to grant union wages and working conditions. But they would not grant direct union recognition.

"Is it your impression," General Johnson was asked, "that the steel men who own these mines are not so much concerned about unions in connection with the coal mines, as that they regard unionization of these mines an entering wedge toward the unionizing of the steel industry?"

"Sure, that's all there is to it," General Johnson replied."

The officials of the U.M.W.A. begged the men to return to work. The President of the United States, so Phil Murray, vice-president of the union, declared, "commanded" that men go back to work. "Any union or union official who refuses to obey that command will not live very long." But the miners would not be bullied. They were determined to stay out until "Frick recognized the union." And, after exploring every loophole of the law, this is exactly what Frick had to do.

While this victory over the steel subsidiaries was being completed in the North, the Alabama operators, both of commercial and captive mines, were holding out against union recognition. These operators had resisted the general coal code to the last ditch. Insisting upon self-determination for their section of the industry, they vowed in public that they would "brook no remote control" and in private that they would not stand for the unionization of their "niggers." When the collective agreement between the United Mine Workers and the operators was about to expire in the spring of 1934, the Alabama mines were struck until the owners joined with the rest of the country in granting union recognition. Under the new collective agreement the minimum wage was raised forty cents a day, while hours of labor were reduced to seven a day.

The Present Status.—It was this scale of April, 1934, which expired on April 1, 1935, that was renewed until June 16 and again until June 30, in the face of the threat of a general strike by the United Mine Workers. The union is demanding a six-hour day and a wage increase of approximately ten percent, which it claims will increase employment, check further overexpansion and tend to eliminate low-wage and high-cost marginal mines.

Last January the majority of the operators, "in spite of the disappointments and disillusionments," voted for the continuation of the code for a period of two years "or until some permanent basis of sound recovery is attained." Although the Recovery Act affected the fundamental problems of the industry only superficially, it did check some of the most glaring competitive abuses sufficiently to permit the miners' organization to function under its agreements. Fearing that the removal of all government control will bring about a return to the conditions of 1932 and lead to a new collapse of the union, the latter, joined by certain groups of operators, is supporting the Guffey bill. Even before the Supreme Court's decision invalidating the Recovery Act, the union decided that the temporary character of the N.R.A. code diminished its efficacy in the coal fields. During the second year of the N.R.A. the code price structure began to break down. As the expiration date of the instrument approached, operators began to seek contracts for delivery after June 16 at prices substantially below the code rates. With the old competition rapidly returning, the union fears that not only its wage scales but its whole position in the industry is in danger.

It now seems likely that the Guffey bill can only pass in a form that will do little more than reenact the N.R.A. set-up for coal. But the conflicts within the industry are so great that it is doubtful whether rugged-individualist operators with paying properties who reluctantly and half-heartedly accepted the temporary emergency federal control of the N.R.A. will bow to government control as a permanent policy. The union, however, supported by certain groups of friendly operators, will fight for some kind of legislation to furnish a sufficiently stable basis for a contract.

With the industry feeling more intensely each year the competition from other fuels, it is hard to see how any program aimed only at the internal situation in bituminous coal can hope to solve the problem. On this problem of competitive fuels the U.M.W.A. sees eye to eye with the coal owners. The latter's prosperity, the union officials insist, means jobs for the union members. The union rejects completely the possibility of uniting with the oil, gas and hydro-electric-power workers to solve the problem along sound lines. Instead they join the coal owners in fighting, through a National Job Saving and Investment Protection Bureau, for heavy taxes on natural gas, and oppose federal expenditure for municipal power plants using oil and natural gas. They also join with the operators in fighting the T.V.A. and public development of hydro-electric power. The United Mine Workers is a militant and vigorous industrial union when it comes to the organization of mine workers. But it fails to see that this conception of industrial unionism is too narrow. It is as futile for coal diggers to hope to begin to solve their problems by fighting oil workers as it is for bricklayers to fight plasterers.

Perhaps some day the rank and file who forced the hands of their officials throughout the N.R.A. code negotiations will come to realize that the coal miners' problems will not be solved by saving coal owners from the losses of their bad investments and calling it the setting up of a national coal reserve; by turning unemployed miners into subsistence peasants and calling it rehabilitation on the land; or by fighting fellow workers in other branches of the fuel industry.

STERLING D. SPERO.

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The New Crime of Cuba

THE ONLY two important original features of President Roosevelt's foreign policy have been the recognition of Soviet Russia and the new attitude toward Latin America. The first has borne no fruit. The second, measured by the Cuban yardstick, is a dismal failure.

The Machado regime, 1925-33, had been supported in many ways by previous Republican administrations. In 1933 Roosevelt withdrew all support of Machado, sent secret emissaries to the Cuban revolutionary junta, and with the aid of Sumner Welles unceremoniously tilted the dictator out of office. Today, after less than two years, Cuba is governed by a reactionary regime of far inferior personnel, a regime less legal and more militaristic than even that of Machado, which has less party and popular support and utilizes the same terroristic methods. We overthrew Machado; but since then, all our diplomatic maneuvers have sought to maintain at all costs the Machado system. The result is that only another Machado is today able to govern Cuba. His name is Colonel Fulgencio Batista.

Under the Platt Amendment, forced upon the Cubans before the termination of American military occupation in 1902, we assumed the responsibility of maintaining in Cuba governments that would guarantee life, property and individual liberty. Cuba was forbidden to negotiate loans beyond the capacity of the ordinary revenues. Even so, Cuba has had various governments—Machado's was the worst—that did not properly guarantee life, property or individual liberty; and our State Department approved loans that directly violated the Platt Amendment provisions.

The Roosevelt administration, in its New Deal toward Latin America, repealed the Platt Amendment. Technically, Cuba was at last granted complete political freedom. As a matter of fact, though we have not intervened in a military sense, we are still intervening—diplomatically and economically. Cuba is more controlled by American capital today than ever. It is as much under the thumb of the American Ambassador as it was back in the days of Crowder, when he riveted American financial hegemony on the island.

Beneficial as are the recent Jones-Costigan sugar act, and our new trade treaty, these were timed to help sustain an unpopular regime in Cuba and to canalize the economic and political system into the same exploitation as existed under Machado. Our sugar quota thus became a subsidy to sustain a government opposed by the Cuban people. Nor did we repeal the Platt Amendment until we had helped overthrow the only government in Cuba's history of truly Cuban origin—that of Grau San Martín—and had helped establish the present Mendieta-Batista regime. Without American support that regime would never have come into existence.

In the name of the New Deal for Latin America we have nailed Cuba back on the same old cross. Cuba today is more prostrate beneath the military boot than it has been since the days of Weyler. Furthermore, our economic palliatives have principally benefited American bankers, American sugar growers and a small class of Cuban business men. For the working people they have provided only meager employment at but slightly increased wages for only a few months of the year.

The Cuban sugar crop is less than it was in 1902 and the present slight improvement over the past two years will be largely lost through the increasing diminution of Cuba's European market. The tobacco industry is half-ruined. The island's slight boom in fruits and vegetables is largely due to the Florida freeze; its trade is still lower than the terrific depression year of 1931, and less than it was in the palmier days of Spanish rule. Unemployment hollows the faces of over half the workers on the island. The prospects of continued economic improvement are slight. And the political situation, with a new tyranny in power, remains one of uncertainty and constant revolutionary plotting.

II

Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles, a stiff-necked career man, is our guiding spirit in Latin American affairs and particularly in our policy towards Cuba. As Ambassador to Cuba in 1933, by ultimatums and a "mediation pact" with the enemies of the then existing Cuban government, he helped to overthrow Machado. With no bloodshed except for a last-minute slaughter of the populace by the soldiery and a few days of minor rioting, a new puppet government was set up and for a brief moment Welles was the hero of the island. But the students and a few other political groups, though they hated Machado, had held aloof from Welles's "mediation" efforts and roundly denounced him for meddling—especially since the pact he imposed preserved as much of the Machado structure as possible.

The outcome of his efforts (August, 1933) was the Carlos Manuel de Céspedes government, a coalition of Machado supporters and those who had accepted Welles's mediation, particularly the semi-fascist Creole ABC group of hungry intellectuals. But the laurels were soon snatched from Welles's brow. The real wonder is that the almost still-born de Céspedes government lasted the two weeks it did. In no way did it meet the necessities of the

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situation or the aspirations of young Cuba. In order to survive for even so short a time, the de Céspedes government was obliged—against the protests of Welles—hurriedly to set aside the Machado Congress, remove Machado officials and abrogate Machado's alterations of the battered Constitution.

Welles did not take these factors into account then or since: first, that the accumulated political evils of thirty-odd years demanded a radical change of personnel and method; second, that Cuba's economic degeneracy from the strangle hold of absentee American capital (Cubans own less of Cuba than Americans) and the permanent collapse of the sugar industry called for immediate drastic reforms; third, that the Cuban people, increasingly oppressed over the same period of years, had reached the point of desperation and demanded changes that could not possibly be met by a quasi-constitutional coalition government incapable of decisive action. The entire popular movement against Machado was thus aborted and the Cubans, cheated of the right to set up their own government, were rendered impotent to correct the abuses of the old system.

If Welles failed to have any comprehension of the popular temperament, certainly his crowning blunder was failure to take into account Machado's army. True, in the negotiations, that led to Machado's downfall, secret contacts with army heads assured the dictator's proper betrayal and support by them of the planned political set-up. But no fundamental change could be expected so long as Machado's army, rather than the Cuban people, was left in the dominant position. Nor was Welles apparently even remotely aware—as was the most ignorant opponent of Machado—that the lower army ranks were already organized on a secret revolutionary basis and were determined to get rid of the old Machado officers. Welles's use of these old army officers to support the de Céspedes government not only frustrated the will of the Cuban people but made an army explosion inevitable. Unfortunately, the rank and file of the army sought primarily to conserve their own privileged position, which could only be done at the expense of the Cuban people. In this betrayal, the army, once it had spilled the de Céspedes-Welles apple cart, was abetted by American "diplomacy."

III

When Batista—September 4, 1933—arrested his superior officers, seized control of the Cuban army, overthrew de Céspedes and improvised an unexpected government, Welles's work temporarily crumbled. The new government was made up of those political elements that had refused to enter into the previous Welles mediation and preferred even the hated Machado to outside interference.

Welles, in a burst of constitutional righteousness, set his face against the new Grau-Batista regime. That the de Céspedes government had had only a pseudo-constitutionality and in no way represented the Cuban people was not for a moment admitted. For Welles the Grau government was merely a troublesome faction in a sea of factions. Welles at once made the American Embassy the headquarters of the opposition and hostility to Grau. Welles demanded a coalition government. With the ABC, he fought the Grau government every step of the way toward social reform.

The ABC, though largely made up of the Creole youths of wealthy Havana families, had been militant, actively terroristic and could decidedly embarrass the Grau government with bombs and roof-sniping. Also, in thus aiding the ABC terrorists, Welles seemed, at least to a few sentimental American liberals, really to favor the new Cuba. At the time of Machado's overthrow, the ABC had been the leading undertaker at the funeral. Green ABC flags blossomed out everywhere. Auto-loads of armed ABC supporters careened about the city, meting out summary death to hated Machadistas. They quickly camped in the most lucrative offices. Even Batista—until he refused to permit his army group to participate in Welles's mediation for Machado's overthrow—had been an ABC man. But perhaps the intrinsic reason for Welles's actions was that an ABC leader, Martinez Saenz (an ex-New York City bank attorney), had as Secretary of Treasury in the short period of the de Céspedes government shown himself completely docile to the Ambassador's wishes.

But the ABC had definitely ceased to represent the new Cuba. In certain ways it had been, and to some extent still is, a picturesque Cuban counterpart of American technocracy, a preliminary syndicalization of middle-class professional failures, caught between the cogs of American big business, the Machado bureaucracy and the proletariat. It was and is hierarchical and fascist. When Machado fell it was suddenly forced to become a political party. It had to popularize its unknown leaders. It was obliged to widen its membership overnight to include anyone and everyone who would affiliate. Machado elements, scurrying for cover, flocked into the ABC movement. On the day of Machado's fall some of the armed groups, displaying green ABC flags, were recognized as members of the Porra—the Machado murder gang—who now feared death at the hands of the mob. Thus, by the time the ABC had become Welles's chosen step-child, it was already a hybrid organization.

But despite Welles's opposition and Grau's own vacillations and occasional symptoms of cowardice and blustering in the face of American official hostility, the Grau government persisted. The economic situation improved slightly. Revenues picked up. Grau, though beset by both the reactionaries and the Communists, was gaining more popular support through some slight social reform. Despite Welles's active aid to the ABC and to old-line political elements—despite even such severe tests as the

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officers' revolt of the National Hotel and the battle of Atarés—the Grau regime was putting down real roots. The army situation was clearing up. The government was making efforts to reconcile the various revolutionary factions. The Uruguayan minister by December, 1933, had made a sufficient truce between the government and the opposition to permit holding of impartial elections. Welles secretly spiked these reconciliation efforts. With the slightest encouragement, the Grau government might have succeeded, and if the promised elections had been held, Cuba today might be close to a popular, orderly and legal system.

Welles left before he could force Grau to haul down the flag. Promoted to Under-secretary of State, he continued gunning against Grau.

IV

Ambassador Jefferson Caffrey, of Colombia fame, took Welles's place. His career in Cuba has been stormy. Three attempts have been made to assassinate him. One of his armed guards was killed before his home. To remain in Cuba he must live behind a nest of machine guns. His unpopularity is universal. It extends to all social classes. He is blamed for all the ills of Cuba. For some of them he may, indeed, be partly responsible.

Caffrey took up the task of destroying Grau where Welles left off. The matter was urgent. The sugar harvest was well under way; the grinding season was starting. The banks were loaded up with loans on sugar that had to be moved and strikes were sweeping the island. The sugar regions were in an uproar: operators were refusing to pay the Grau minimum wage of $1 a day or to abide by his eight-hour law. The Cuban Cane Company sabotaged the government by closing down operations. The government temporarily occupied its properties to ensure light service to four towns and to save ten thousand people from starving.

Grau had become too strong to be dislodged easily, so Caffrey shifted the attack. The enemy, Welles had discovered, could not be beaten merely by intriguing with the opposition. Divide and conquer became the new motto. Batista became a frequent visitor at the Embassy. Caffrey's visits to Camp Colombia increased. And one day Batista walked into the palace and told Grau he must resign—a disguised coup d'état and one, according to Grau, directly backed by the American Embassy.

Roosevelt's noble ideal of a coalition was thereby achieved—a coalition of all the old gangs that had been pilfering Cuba in the shadow of American power since Cuba became nominally an independent country—a façade to disguise the even more reactionary military force that was the real power. The new President, Mendieta, was the head of the Nationalist Union; a minor offshoot of the Machado Liberal Party. Included in the new set-up were the thoroughly discredited Menocal Conservatives, out of power for over fourteen years, and the José Mariano Gómez group of greedy job-hunters—also an offshoot of the Machado Liberal Party. The fourth element in the new coalition was the ABC. Thus, with the sympathy and encouragement of the American government, the reins were handed over to the old crowd and all the real partisans of new Cuba were shoved into the discard.

The Mendieta government began a tempestuous career. Back-stage intriguing of the four factions soon led to Cabinet crises—over thirty in all. One by one all but the Mendieta Nationalist Union withdrew from the government, leaving Caffrey to support the narrowest, most insignificant faction that has ever governed Cuba. Even Mendieta's own party divided. Mendieta's only supports are Caffrey and Batista.

Opposition, worse than even Machado knew, soon wrecked Mendieta's government from without. He was faced by over twenty major strikes. Three of them were general strikes. Twenty-five hundred bombs went off with numerous deaths and injuries. One attempt was made to assassinate Mendieta, three to assassinate Batista. Fifteen army plots were suppressed. Last November four hundred evicted peasants took to the hills, armed. Concessions finally pacified them. Martial law has had to be invoked in the sugar regions for the entire harvest period.

In this turmoil every effort has been made by us to sustain the Mendieta-Batista regime. Its prompt recognition was the first step. The repeal of the Platt Amendment was a free bouquet—an acknowledgment that we considered it an entirely proper government. The recent commercial arrangements have also helped it to weather various storms. During this epoch Ambassador Caffrey has repeatedly announced that he is merely an observer. He is as much an observer as was Baer in the last fight with Carnera.

V

After Welles and Caffrey, the next man in the hierarchy of arbitrary power in Cuba is the little thirty-five-year-old sergeant, Fulgencio Batista, a blended type of Caucasian, Negro and Indian—a true representative of the Cuban melting pot, an orphan who has come up from the dregs of poverty. In 1924 he entered the army as a private. Except for six months, he has remained in it ever since. Under Machado, a sergeant attached to the general staff and stenographer to the general court-martial, he became familiar with all the inner politics of the Machado army.

On the night of September 4, 1933, he called in the students and set up the famous Directorate, which shortly after named Grau as provisional president. Batista broke up the resistance of the officers in the National Hotel, and he smashed the Atarés castle revolt. Apparently loyal to the Grau

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government, when Caffrey came down he began to shift. An intimacy sprang up between the two men. Another factor began to alarm Batista. Antonio Guiteras, head of the organization Young Cuba, who was recently assassinated by Batista's men, was in 1933-34 Minister of War, Navy and the Interior. Undoubtedly the outstanding genius of the Grau government, he had a program of real agrarian reform and had also conceived a project for curtailing Cuban militarism by cutting down the size of the army and creating three completely independent corps—the army, the navy and a civil guard; all to be of equal size and independent of each other, so that none could exercise predominance over the state. In other ways Grau and Guiteras sought to curtail militarism. Under Machado the army was granted every special privilege it demanded. It was above the law. Under Batista it has grown even stronger. It has expanded its power over civil affairs, tried strikers and other political offenders by court-martial. During the recent general strike the government was entirely run by the army. All powers were and are concentrated in Batista.

Batista is now the complete dictator of Cuba, with no law to restrain him. He rarely stirs from the little castle he has built out in Camp Colombia. Cabinet ministers and foreign diplomats report to him there. Since the recent strike, he has exercised absolute control of the various ministries, has ratified all new appointments, filling 60 percent of the posts with relatives of army people. Mendieta is now merely a figurehead. Thus Batista, "the little black Indian," is today in charge of an army of over 14,000 men, 3,000 sailors, 3,000 police, 2,000 secret-service agents and various other minor corps which bring the total up to over 23,000. He has $1,500,000 to spend personally, for which he need give no accounting. His army, larger than that of Machado and far better equipped, eats up nearly twice as much revenue—over a third of the whole Cuban budget. Under Machado it was one of the highest paid armies in the world; today it is still better paid and is given frequent bonuses.

Batista's present plan is to create a reserve army of 60,000 men. The public employees are to be militarized. Thus Batista, master of the largest war machine in Cuba's history, master of all civil authority, has crushed all opposition political parties, wiped out the labor movement and driven hundreds into exile. A courteous, engaging man, who constantly expresses his desire in vague terms for the welfare of his country, he is almost completely ignorant of economics and sociology and considers all who oppose him base politicians.

Apparently the opposition is temporarily broken and scattered, but the new Cuba lives in the consciousness of the people. Persecution has in reality brought the new forces of Cuba into more organized unity. The present regime has been called a fascist dictatorship. Nothing could be further from the truth, though certain fascist elements support it. European fascism, both in Italy and Germany, rests on broad mass movements. They offer a simulated collectivism and planned economy, and feed on persecution of racial minorities and national animosities. The present regime in Cuba has blocked every reform and has no plan. Mere crude militarism, though it represents indirectly an alliance with American capital, should not be confused with fascism. The new opposition movement in Cuba will prove more determined and less compromising than before. The Cuban people have been awakened by recent struggles; they have learned to fight for their rights.

CARLETON BEALS.

Political Lexicon

A.F. of L.: The organization that calls strikes which have already broken out.

ALIEN: Anybody who believes in the American standard of living—for employees.

BOLSHEVIK: Any person who disagrees with the opinions of William Randolph Hearst.

BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION: The agency that prevents it.

COMPROMISE: Labor's capitulation to capital.

CONSTITUTION: As conceived, a living instrument; as interpreted, a dead weight; as utilized, a red herring.

CONSERVATIVE: One who admires radicals a century after they're dead.

D.A.R.: An organization of women who feel that one revolutionist in the family is distinction enough.

DEMOCRAT: See Republican.

DISARMAMENT: See History, Ancient.

EQUALITY: The right, granted by the Constitution, of rich and poor, black and white, to bathe in champagne and winter on the Riviera.

FOUNDING FATHERS: Dead revolutionists.

FREE COMPETITIVE SYSTEM: Strip poker.

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS: The right to make wartime profits by selling to both belligerents without interference from either.

FREE PRESS: A hundred men imposing their prejudices on a hundred million.

FREE SPEECH: The right to agree with those who decide what is free speech and what is sedition.

G.O.P.: The Same Old Party.

GORILLA: An animal introduced into the political wild life of North America by Arthur Brisbane.

GOVERNMENT AID: Public money poured into private enterprises.

GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE: The idea that it ought to be paid back.

HISTORY, ANCIENT: See Disarmament.

INDIVIDUALISM: Three varieties: rugged, ragged and ruthless.

IMPERIALISM: The aims of your neighbor; opposite to your own aims, which are called Foreign Policy.

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INHERITANCE: Money left by people who didn't earn it to those who don't need it for purposes that don't justify it.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES: Social functions at which statesmen who know that something is wrong agree that nothing can be done about it.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: Ring-around-the-rosy.

LAISSEZ-FAIRE: The theory that if each acts like a vulture all will end as doves.

LIBERALS: Mr. Micawber's political children.

MONROE DOCTRINE: The right of the United States to protect helpless Latins from greedy Europeans who might otherwise send *their* Marines down to seize ports and supervise elections.

MONROE DOCTRINE OF THE EAST: Japan's infringement on our copyright.

MUNITIONS MANUFACTURERS: Patriots who want to sell us rifles for protection against foreign powers to whom they have already sold cannon.

NEW DEAL: The wedding of good intentions to bad economics.

N.R.A.: The plan to create higher wages and higher prices; it was 50-percent successful: we do have higher prices.

OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE WEAPONS: A distinction that bacilli will find it difficult to observe.

PEACE: Time out.

POT: That which lay at the end of the Republican rainbow, containing two chickens.

PRIVATE PROPERTY: A sacred trust expressly granted by God, the Bible and the Recorder's Office.

PRIVATE BANKING: The process by which banks redistribute the national income, among themselves.

PROSPERITY: The condition that is said to have prevailed in the United States around 1929. (Obsolete.)

REPUBLICAN: See Democrat.

SOCIAL PLANNING: Nonsense which, if dropped, would get us out of the depression.

TARIFFS: One form of government interference business doesn't resent.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE: An ingenious scheme to be financed by industry out of profits, and labor out of wages; when industry raises prices labor will be contributing for both: this is called "sharing a mutual responsibility."

UNITED STATES: The country that doesn't know it lost the War.

VOTE: That which is thrown out when cast for a radical candidate.

WAR: International debate, remarkable for the fact that God is always on both sides.

1. GAS WARFARE: A necessary weapon or a violation of humanity, depending on which way the wind is blowing.
2. RULES OF WAR: The laws that make it illegal to hit below the toes.

WORLD WAR: Prelude to the next one.

LEO C. ROSTEN.

Washington Notes

The Lobbyists Get Busy—Sabotage and Patronage—Senator Clark Changes Sides—"Loafers on Relief"

NOT SINCE the Smoot-Hawley tariff have lobbyists of big business been so much in evidence as they have been during the last two weeks. Besides familiar figures like James A. Emery, counsel of the National Manufacturers' Association, Colonel William J. Donovan and Joseph P. Tumulty, dozens of corporation executives and lawyers are in Washington working to modify or defeat legislation. The sight of these men, representing special, anti-social interests, gives one a melancholy sense of how far away from genuine democratic control this country is.

Some of the heaviest lobbying against the Wagner labor-disputes bill has come from former N.R.A. code authorities. Even before the Schechter decision, when they had a semi-official status, code authorities were working actively to defeat the Wagner bill. Now you find code authorities demanding their own reinstatement, on a voluntary basis, under the new skeletonized N.R.A., and at the same time trying to deprive the workers of the Wagner bill's tenuous protection. This shows, it seems to me, not so much a lack of statesmanship as of ordinary decent standards. No business leader has been more vociferous in his devotion to the defunct Blue Eagle than Peter Van Horn, chairman of the Silk Code Authority. Yet weeks ago Van Horn began quietly organizing his industry in opposition to the Wagner bill's chief provisions. The Non-Ferrous Foundry Industry Code Authority has lobbied against the bill in its formal capacity as a code authority. The Periodical Publishers' Institute, identical with the code authority, issued a confidential circular declaring that the Wagner bill "holds for employers and citizens of this country the gravest danger that has been threatened by any bill introduced in Congress in recent years." Apparently the publishers do not recognize labor-union members as citizens.

The allegation that Mr. Roosevelt is using the $4,800,000,000 work relief fund to win the coming elections will be heard frequently until November, 1936. There is some truth in it. For Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hopkins to assert, as they have during the last few days, that politics is to be kept out of the new work-relief organization is disingenuous. Politics has already entered it. When the $4,800,000,000 fund was passed by Congress, an amendment was added stipulating that any official paid more than $5,000 a year must be confirmed by the Senate. Automatically, this meant that members of the Senate from Democratic states would name the top officials. Observers here estimate that about twenty-five of the state works-progress administrators, so far named, represent senatorial patronage.

It is probable that Senators would have been invited, in any case, to share in the work-relief jobs. Lately the $4,800,000,000 fund has been Mr. Roosevelt's chief weapon in forcing his program through Congress. Every time lobbyists of private interests have weaned away one of the

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administration's supporters, Postmaster General Farley and Emil Hurja have hastened to the Capitol with glittering promises with which to entice him back. Ineffectual as the Wheeler-Rayburn bill, the social-security bill, the labor-disputes bill and the rest of the Roosevelt program admittedly are, in comparison with measures required by true national planning, they are nevertheless better than nothing. For this reason, Mr. Roosevelt's use of the work-relief fund is held by his admirers to be justified. However, Mr. Roosevelt had an alternative. He might have publicly attacked the private interests opposing him and appealed to the country for support.

One of the work-relief appointments, that of Matthew S. Murray as administrator for Missouri, seems to be a joint offering to Tom Prendergast, the Missouri boss, and Senator Bennett C. Clark. Clark is the prodigy of the present session. Son of Champ Clark, who lost the Democratic presidential nomination in 1912 to Woodrow Wilson, he entered the Senate under the shadow of his father's fame. His first success in the present session came as a member of the munitions investigating committee. Having gained the reputation of being a liberal, he suddenly appeared as one of the chief opponents of the Copeland pure food and drug bill. Weeks before the Schechter decision, he had effectively killed the N.R.A. through his resolution restricting its life to ten months. More recently, he sponsored amendments that would have destroyed the social-security bill. Clark is now perhaps the most effective spokesman of big business in the Senate. He is infinitely more dangerous to the liberal cause than a man like Carter Glass, for example, who betrays his reactionary prejudices with every word. The first fruits of Clark's success was an offer of alliance from Prendergast, who had previously opposed him.

Hopkins has just completed a survey in Baltimore to determine the extent to which relief recipients are refusing private employment. It sheds light both on relief practices and on the problems the unemployed face. During March and April, 195 cases of refusal to work were reported. Investigation showed 145 of these to be due to clerical or other errors on the part of the authorities, or to readily explicable causes, such as illness. Of the remaining cases, fourteen were those of individuals, other than domestic servants, who had actually refused jobs. In this group were found: a mother of four small children who had refused work in a house where there was contagious disease; two individuals with serious illness in their own families; a daughter with a seventy-five-year-old blind mother; a mother with two small children whom she didn't like to leave for the whole day (her relief was cut off); a man who lacked carfare to an out-of-town job (his relief was cut off); a carpenter whose tools had been stolen; a man whose union wage rate was $1.10 an hour and who refused a job at 65 cents an hour (his relief was cut off); a man who refused to work as a strikebreaker; four men who simply ignored appointments for jobs, and one who said he was "through with work" (the relief of the last five was cut off). Thirty-one cases were those of domestic servants, and they throw a harsh light on chiseling housewives. These domestic servants had been asked to work for from $2 to $4 a week, and when they refused to work for such wages, Baltimore matrons had endeavored to have them removed from the relief rolls. To their credit, the relief authorities refused to do this. The final five cases were those where records were missing or uncertain. If this survey can be considered typical, it makes talk about the unemployed not wanting work seem gratuitously insulting.

Washington. T. R. B.

Other People's Money

A Lesson in Technique—The New Deal at Last?—Trouble in the Hen-House—The Holding-Company Lullaby

LIBERALS who want to gain something from the Roosevelt administration are now presented with a complete revelation of the essential technique. It is to arrange at the proper intervals a stinging smash against the administration such as the Department of Commerce blow-up. In the resulting tumult of damaging headlines, present the President with a sensational reform proposal with front-page sixty-point headline possibilities—something that is capable of sweeping the current scandal off page one, or at least into a subordinate position. Thus, just as the city rooms bend to the task of pillorying the administration over the charges of favoritism involving the Astors, the Kermit Roosevelts, etc., in connection with the shipping business, we wake to find our morning paper ablaze with a demand for inheritance taxes and increased taxes on incomes above a million dollars.

Having dynamited this message out of the President, it is now necessary to translate it into legislation. And this will take another hostile scandal or two. However, it may be ungenerous not to be thankful for this message. After twenty-seven months of the New Deal we begin to get something approaching a New Deal. The utility bill, the Wagner labor-disputes bill, Title II of the Banking bill (though the rest is pretty bad), and now the first step for inheritance taxes, higher income taxes, a proposal for dealing by means of taxation with the holding company in all industry. I omit the social-security bill because, in its present form, it is almost a total loss.

One must not hope for too much. When the President says he thinks all unnecessary holding companies should be eliminated, we can guess what he meant from a lecture, with chart and pointer, that he gave the newspaper correspondents last week. The utility bill, he told them, would not reach concerns like the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey or the Morgan Niagara-Hudson Company in New York or the United Gas Improvement Company, because they were purely intrastate. Nor would it reach the North American Company because it is a mere investment company and not a true holding company. Similarly, I assume it would not touch the Morgan-owned United Corporation because that is an investment company. And I dare say that when we get to the railroads it will not affect the Allegheny Corporation because that is like the North American Company.

I think we had better withhold our cheers. Unless we

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deal with these things we shall not reach the economic effects of the holding company. Apparently this Roosevelt, with his good and bad holding companies, is following in the footsteps of the other one with his good and bad trusts. There may be good holding companies, in the sense that the individuals who run them are decent men and do not use them to foster abuses. But economically they are all bad, and, moreover, there is no way to discriminate between the worst and the others. As for regulating holding companies, that is utterly impossible, as we shall find out.

The utility bill, however, is a step in the right direction. It will enable us to get all the facts first. Then it will tend toward simplification of capital structure. This will be a gain. When this is attained, we shall learn that we still have the holding-company problem on our hands. We can then proceed to the next step: the complete abolition of all holding companies.

The chickens—very sick ones too—that Mr. Roosevelt permitted in the Department of Commerce are now coming home to roost. Apparently nothing will be done, at the moment, about the Mitchell denunciations. They hit at Republicans and Democrats alike. They refer to old scandals in the Department of Commerce and the Shipping Board, and a real exposure would hurt both sides. But the crazy set-up of the Department of Commerce under the so-called New Deal will ultimately have to be dealt with.

From the day Mr. Daniel Roper named his Industrial Advisory Committee to "weave the pattern of our economic future" and packed it with the discredited business men thrown on his doorstep by the last administration, it was easy to see what Mr. Roper thought our future should look like. He has run the Department of Commerce as if it were a kind of inside contact for the Chamber of Commerce. Because it is called the Department of *Commerce* we must not suppose that it is dedicated to advancing the special interests of men engaged in big business. It is that arm of the government which looks after the great function of commerce as it affects the interests of the whole people. Of late the attempt has been made to make it appear that Mr. Roosevelt gave little heed to that advisory committee. But this is simply not true. These men—most of them big trust magnates—had exercised a powerful influence in the administration. They gave to the N.R.A. its pattern. They dominated the feeble social-security legislation, which has just been passed. And they have had their hand quietly in the affairs of all the departments of that secretariat over which Mr. Roper presides. I have been calling attention to this curious anomaly in the New Deal from its inception, but apparently few have felt any interest until now. Is it not time for it to be demobilized?

Mr. Roosevelt's animadversions on the subject of utility holding companies and his blessing on the North American Company and the investment trusts make it plain that we are about to see a recrudescence of the investment trust. Hush, little holding company; don't you cry. You'll be an investment trust bye-and-bye. And in the meantime we have done absolutely nothing about protecting the public from all those amazing abuses on which the last wave of investment trusts throve. The more I see of the whole set-up of our business, the more I am convinced that until we tackle the problem of recasting our corporate laws almost everything else we attempt is futile.

By the way, what became of the chaos that was due to visit us after the Supreme Court got through with the N.R.A.?

JOHN T. FLYNN.

On the Labor Front

Will Business Maintain the Codes?—Exposing the Motor Spies—"Strikebreaker" Is a Horrid Word

BY NOW there is hardly a trade association or industry that has not passed some resolution to the general effect that its members are in favor of maintaining the hours and wages established under the N.R.A. At the same time, however, evidence accumulates strongly suggesting that these expressions of broad policy issued by business leaders do not necessarily reflect the sentiments of all business men. In the last few days, for example, the statements themselves have been of a mor guarded nature. The Industrial Council of Coat, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers reports that there have been no changes in hour and wage provisions in the 90 percent of the industry operating under union contracts, and leaves one to guess what has happened in the other 10 percent. The Advertising Specialty Association reports merely that a "considerable majority" of its members "have expressed the intention to maintain" code provisions. And the Cotton Textile Institute now concedes that perhaps one-half of one percent of the mills are deviating from former code wage and hour schedules.

A rather different picture is offered by James L. O'Neill, the new N.R.A. administrator. "We have received reports through our compliance division that a good deal of 'chiseling' is going on," he remarked last week, adding that "all parts of the nation are more or less affected," and that the chiseling was not confined to any particular industry. According to Drew Pearson and Robert Allen, whose syndicated column, "Washington Merry-Go-Round," recently carried an extended list of companies that had abandoned code standards, the chief chiselers at present seem to be among the smaller firms. The N.R.A., they report, has been keeping a card index of the firms that have lived up to the codes and those that have not. This file shows many firms cutting wages and stretching hours —some of them members of the very trade associations that have pledged allegiance to the codes.

It will, of course, be several months before the full effect of these moves can be known or measured by the indices of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. But if it is true that many of the smaller firms are now reducing working conditions, it may not be long before the larger units follow suit. They will protest that they cannot compete with sweatshop wages and therewith their pledges of allegiance to the codes will be liquidated.

Whenever the automobile manufacturers are accused of using espionage systems and spying on their employees—

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as they were in Leon Henderson's N.R.A. report on the industry—they deny the charge. However, a little blurb, intended as praise, in a recent issue of Steel, gives the game away. Said Steel, in its "Mirrors of Motordom" department:

> Ford continues the envy of other manufacturers in handling labor. It appears that recently a number of malcontents were detected in various departments in the Rouge [Detroit River Rouge plant of the Ford Motor Company]. Quietly they were all transferred to one department, then this department's work was farmed out, the department was closed and the malcontents were automatically out of a job.
>
> Incidentally, General Motors boasted up to the time of its recent Toledo strike that it had no undercover men in its plants. This situation is being remedied, and henceforth General Motors will have a close check on sentiment within its plants.

It would seem that the two leading wire services, the Associated Press and the United Press, have hit upon a special code for reporting labor news, especially in stories involving strike violence. The key to the code is usually some term like "employees," "workmen," or perhaps "loyal workers." When any of these are found in a strike story, there is a strong probability that they should be translated to read "strikebreaker," unless one prefers more colorful synonyms such as "scab" or "fink." Thus, last week, the A.P. report from Union, South Carolina, where 1,000 employees of the Monarch Textile Mill went on strike and where two men were slain by a company guard, refers to "a general melee in front of the mill as *workers* came out between lines of pickets to change shifts at noon." Another A.P. dispatch of last week, from Milwaukee, declares that "Three *employees* of the Gridley Dairy Company were beaten today by men described by the authorities as strike sympathizers." And a U.P. story from Freeport, Illinois, describing the strike of the employees at the Stover Manufacturing Company, tells us that: "Four National Guard companies restored order at the plant Friday after seven pickets were injured, one severely, in a futile attempt to stop deputies and *workmen* from entering the plant." [All italics mine.—W. P. M.] And lest anyone be suspicious of these circumstances, the dispatch helpfully adds that "company officials announced the men were not strikebreakers." The pickets, the U.P. would have us believe, were too discriminating. And in none of the dispatches I have seen from Omaha, Nebraska, on the street-car strike, has there been any hint that the real cause of the violence that led to the deaths of two people and the wounding of one hundred and fifty was that the street-car company tried to continue service with strikebreakers. One wonders if the memorandum circulated by the American Newspaper Publishers' Association several months ago, which suggested that the word "strikebreaker" should be avoided in labor stories and that, rather, reporters should merely refer to strikers and workers (or "loyal" workers, since they are standing by the company in an emergency), could have had any influence on the strange inadequacy and often contradictory nature of these stories.

WILLIAM P. MANGOLD.

Recorded Music

THE Columbia Company's album set of the Art of Fugue commemorates the Bach anniversary more successfully than Victor's album of Stokowski transcriptions. The work itself is one of the noblest of Bach, yet one that is almost completely unknown to the musical public and therefore in need of the help that recording can give in making it better and more widely known. Moreover, as recorded it is transcribed very simply for string quartet by Roy Harris and M. D. Herter Norton, and is played most admirably in every respect by the Roth String Quartet.

Columbia has also issued a volume containing Bach's Sonatas No. 1 in B minor and No. 6 in E major for flute and figured bass, played by Georges Laurent and Harry Cumpson; and another containing the French Suites No. 5 in G major and No. 6 in E major, played by Mr. Cumpson. Here we encounter the attitude that everything written by a great composer must be good or important. Actually, as one critic remarked recently, a great deal composed by a man who wrote so much as Bach "is bound to be no more than merely fluent chatter and good workmanship, the wheels going round in exactly the same way as when a masterpiece is being produced, but grinding only a poor grade of corn. . . . The same formula lay ready to Bach's hand on a hundred occasions; but the inspiration that could vivify . . . the formula was not always at his command. These jogging rhythms, these easy melodic embroideries of an obvious harmonic sequence are only . . . his workmanlike verse, not his poetry." They can, of course, be the occasion for distinguished performance, which Mr. Laurent's flute-playing is, but Mr. Cumpson's piano-playing is decidedly not.

A more interesting Columbia release is that of some austere Music of the Chapel of King Henry VI, sung by the Nashdom Abbey singers under Dom Anselm Hughes. Columbia has also issued Beethoven's "Harp" Quartet Op. 74 in a characteristically sonorous and occasionally dripping performance by the Lener String Quartet; and his Pastoral Symphony in a performance by the Colonne Orchestra under Paul Paray that does not rank with the one by Weingartner that it replaces.

Finally, it has released several modern works. First, Stravinsky's "Les Noces," excellently sung (in English) and played by vocal soloists, chorus and percussion orchestra under the direction of the composer. Then, for those who are interested—which, after hearing the works, I am not—Stravinsky's recent Duo Concertant for violin and piano, played by Samuel Dushkin and the composer; Milhaud's "Les Songes," played by the Paris Symphony under the composer; and, inevitably, a Trio by Roy Harris, played by Poltronieri, Bonucci and Casella.

My remarks on Bach hold for Mozart, and in particular for his Violin Concerto No. 7 in D major, issued by Victor in a performance by Menuhin with the Paris Symphony under Enesco. This is one of the more mechanical and less consequential works of Mozart in which formula operates in place of feeling. The recently discovered "Adelaide" Concerto in D major, which Mozart wrote at the age of ten, has much more genuine feeling and charm. It, too,

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is recorded by Menuhin with the Paris Symphony under Monteux. In these sets Menuhin's playing sounds better than it usually does on records. Far better, however, in the firmness of his tone, is the recording, made a few years ago, of Beethoven's charming Sonata for violin and piano Op. 12, No. 1, in D major. In this there is superb piano-playing by Hubert Giesen, which is not given the equal prominence it should have. The more interesting Sonata Op. 12, No. 3, in E flat, has also been issued by Victor in an excellent performance by Busch and Serkin.

The greater Mozart is represented on Victor's list by the lovely string Quartet in D (K. 499) in a superlative performance by the Budapest Quartet. Also by the G minor Quintet for two violas—particularly the slow movement and the wonderful introduction to the last movement. The performance is good but not good enough: why Victor (*i. e.*, H. M. V.) insists on using the Pro Arte Quartet for such music when it has the Budapest, I cannot understand. Nor do I think Edwin Fischer a good choice for Mozart's Piano Concerto in D minor, which he plays with the London Philharmonic (Victor). The lack of warmth is not offset by any particular elevation or distinction of style.

Stokowski has recorded Handel's Water Music for Victor with great care, achieving beautiful echo effects in the opening movement and incredibly beautiful qualities of tone throughout. He has also done a good job with an album of excerpts from "Die Walküre"—chiefly the Ride of the Valkyries and Wotan's Farewell, in which Lawrence Tibbett sings beautifully, but without the particular dramatic force that the music demands. Koussevitzky's recording of Beethoven's Fifth (Victor) with the London Philharmonic is a disappointment. The performance moves too slowly and ponderously throughout; and the drop in tempo in the transition between the third and fourth movements I find very objectionable. Ormandy contributes a brilliant performance of Ravel's "Alborada del Gracioso" with the Minneapolis Symphony (Victor). B. H. Haggin.

CORRESPONDENCE

The British Labor Party and Hitler

SIR: In your issue of June 5, there is a letter from Mr. Werner Hegemann about Karl von Ossietsky, a man whom all pacifists must reverence. With the wish that he should be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize I am strongly in agreement; I cannot imagine any man more deserving of this honor.

What prompts me to write to you, however, is a different matter. Mr. Hegemann speaks of "Hitler's most perverse bodyguard: the English Labor Party." These words are either very ignorant or very thoughtless, and are surprising in a pacifist context. The English Labor Party abominates Hitler and all his ways, but is anxious not to be hurried by indignation into support of war, or into abandonment of its previous demands for justice to Germany. It is all very well for American radicals, at a safe distance, to urge Europeans to go crusading while their own country remains neutral. But for sane Europeans other considerations must be dominant. We know that war, if it comes, will destroy everything that we value, however the Powers may be grouped and whoever may enjoy "victory." We feel little doubt that, in the course of the war, what remains of democracy in Europe would disappear. We expect disaster to civilization through the maddened terror of urban populations. In these circumstances, we resent being scolded for attempting to preserve all that we care for (both publicly and privately) rather than ruin our Continent to gratify the resentments of men who will remain spectators of our possibly heroic folly. A writer who praises pacifism should understand this point of view.

Petersfield, Eng. Bertrand Russell.

The Y.M.C.A. in the War

SIR: Mr. John C. Granbery attempts to defend the Y.M.C.A. against the charge, in the article "War and the Common Soldier" [The New Republic, May 22], that it encouraged the caste system in the American army during the World War. As one who spent eighteen months in the Y headquarters in Paris, from March, 1918, to September, 1919, nearly all of that time as the assistant director of one of its most important departments, I can say that it not only did so, but maintained a similar system within its own organization, the exclusive upper caste being composed mostly of Y.M.C.A. secretaries, the clergy and other professional religious workers. Anyone trying sincerely to accomplish something really worth while found himself engaged in a continuous battle with the highly placed executives, most of them professional Y.M.C.A. secretaries, who thought that currying favor with army officers and those among the Y's own personnel who possessed social, financial or political influence was more important than the work the organization was over there to do.

Camden, N. J. Everett R. Meves.

The Purpose of Credit Control

SIR: Permit me to comment on your editorial, "The Fight About the Banks," in your issue of May 15. I agree with your conclusions that the way the function of banks is carried on is of the utmost importance, that credit control can be made effective and that a control over bank reserves alone is insufficient to bring about a stable economy. In my opinion, however, the body of your article reveals some misunderstanding of the purpose and method of credit control.

Let us define a stable economy as one in which the effective demand for goods and services is so related to the nation's increasing ability to produce that the economic plant is utilized continually at approximate capacity. The object of credit control may then be said to be, in so far as it is possible by this means, to achieve a stable economy. Under our present system the amount of credit in use at any one time depends partly on the demands of business for accommodation and partly on the policy of the banks. In good times bankers lend freely, in order to make profits, and so help to encourage a boom, and at the first signs of a crisis they contract their loans and so help to bring about a depression by preparing against it. Thus our monetary mechanism operates to aggravate both booms and depressions instead of being used to counteract them. Private bankers have no way of correcting this evil even if they wanted to.

The method of credit control falls into two parts: first, a control over private credit and, second, a control over public credit. The control over private credit is provided for in Section II of the banking bill. The Federal Reserve Board would be given power to raise and lower the rediscount rates, to order the purchase or sale of government bonds and to change the reserve requirements of the member banks. This control, if combined with a policy of heavy taxation, would probably be sufficient to discourage a boom, but it is insufficient during a depression because it can only encourage an expansion of credit by an easy-money policy and cannot force an expansion.

The control over public credit involves the use of the national debt as a compensating mechanism. If the debt is increased by borrowing banking credit during bad times and the money raised

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is used generously for public works and relief, and if the debt is contracted in good times by heavy taxation of incomes, profits and speculative gains, then we would have an instrument for relating effective demand to capacity to produce.

The incidental results of credit control would be to reduce greatly the fluctuations in the general price level and to regularize the rate of capital investment. Credit control is by no means a panacea, and very likely it would take a good many years of experimenting before it could be made to work effectively. But without control no one can be justly held responsible for the economic condition of the country.

Boston, Mass. GEORGE R. WALKER.

The Case of Dr. Kraus

SIR: . . . May I call to your attention a case that has received little notice and involves the administration directly? Proceedings are now under way and have not yet been dismissed, for the deportation of Arthur J. I. Kraus, Ph.D. Persecution forced him, a German Jew by descent, to flee from Poland, the land of his birth. He is a man of genuine scholarship. He was admitted to this country on a temporary permit and obtained a position as instructor in Philosophy at the College of the City of New York. News came to him of violence directed against minority groups in Polish universities and to call attention to this in December, 1932, he went on a hunger strike. Later, on returning to his duties, he consented to undergo an informal examination to determine his physical fitness to teach and was pronounced mentally incompetent, whereupon he was dismissed from his post. Having obtained no other position as a teacher his legal status became that of an alien temporarily admitted. Deportation was ordered. A stay of this order has been obtained and a number of men and women of the highest standing have spoken in his behalf. Professors John Dewey, Reinhold Niebuhr, Albert Einstein, Dr. H. S. Coffin of Union Theological Seminary and others have added their voices to the editorial protests expressed by The Christian Century and The Churchman on this case.

I do not know at first hand the merits of Dr. Kraus as a teacher. It would not occur to me to recommend the method he took to call attention to a tragic situation in Poland. It is a method, however, that has been used by great prophets and idealists from ancient Hebrew times down to Mahatma Gandhi. . . .

For Dr. Kraus deportation to Poland comes close to a sentence of death. The Labor Department has a wide degree of discretion if it wants to use it in the enforcement of our arbitrary and illiberal deportation law. It should be made plain to American authorities that because Dr. Kraus has already suffered so grievously at the hands of reactionary educational authorities there is reason not to deport him, but to protect him against this final indignity of a cruelly insensitive world.

New York City. NORMAN THOMAS.

Extracts from Letters

BETH MITCHELL sends us a graphic letter from the International Labor Defense office at Birmingham, Alabama, telling of terrorism used against the sharecroppers in the region south of that city, many of whom are now on strike for dollar-a-day wages. At Selma, Alabama, twenty-one persons have been arrested, thrown into jail briefly, then turned out at the point of a gun and handed over to landlord-led vigilantes, who carried the workers out into the country, flogged them, burned them with matches and left them out there. Two of the victims were white men arrested while addressing a group of sharecroppers in a private home, and the rest were Negro workers who lost their jobs and were evicted from their homes as additional punishment. One of the victims, W. J. Foster, a Negro worker who was arrested when he had been in town only an hour, has not been heard from for more than four weeks and it is feared he may have been murdered. In Birmingham, Robert Wood, district secretary of the International Labor Defense, was kidnaped from a downtown street and carried far out into the country where he was brutally beaten, threatened with death and thrown into a creek. A week later, Blaine Owen, a member of the Communist Party, was kidnaped and beaten. Persons opposed to these terroristic methods are urged to send protests to Governor Bibb Graves, Montgomery, Alabama; Commissioner W. O. Downs, Birmingham, Alabama; and Mayor Burns, Selma, Alabama.

The Columbia Faculty and Workers' Committee of Columbia University, New York, sends notice of a citywide conference to be held Wednesday evening, July 10, in Harkness Hall in the New Library. The conference will aid in reorganizing the University Projects, which are carried out under the direction of Columbia faculty members by relief workers. It is the hope of the conference to bring about abler leadership, smoother organization and greater social usefulness in the work projects, many of which call for a high degree of scholarship. In reorganizing the University Projects, Dr. John Gambs of the Federal Relief Administration is acting as special aide to Oswald Knauth, director of relief activities for New York City.

Marion Gilpin, chairman of the arrangements committee, calls attention to the coming American Youth Congress to be held this year in Detroit on July 4, 5, 6 and 7. The Congress seeks to unify the youth of the country against the encroachments of fascism, militarism, the restriction of free education and further economic suffering. The financial resources of the Congress are limited and they will be glad to receive contributions, which may be addressed to the Second American Youth Congress, Hotel Statler, Detroit, Michigan.

Michael B. Scheler, 475 Wyona Street, Brooklyn, New York, editor, author and student of the labor movement, writes us that he is planning an American labor encyclopedia to include all available documents such as constitutions, programs and declarations of principles of labor and radical organizations as well as biographical data on leaders in this movement. He would be glad to hear from persons who can contribute relevant material as well as personal assistance in carrying forward this projected work.

Mr. M. B. Ullman writes from Jersey City in objection to the review of "Partners in Plunder" written by Benjamin Stolberg and published in The New Republic of May 15. Mr. Ullman says that to "consume inferior and harmful goods is not necessarily a proof of 'bad judgment' in using purchasing power" and argues for the usefulness of Consumers' Research reports.

David E. Collins of Trenton, New Jersey, commenting on the same review, points out the value of warning purchasers against cumulative slow poisons used as preservatives and other dangerous adulterants and pays tribute to the general excellence of the service. Both these writers seem to miss Mr. Stolberg's main point, which was not to deny the specific value of specific reports, but to question the validity of the Consumers' Research approach as a solution of the evils of the present economic system.

The National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners sends a copy of a petition presented to the United States Supreme Court asking for a rehearing in the case of Angelo Herndon and signed by forty-nine well known writers, artists and other professional people including Newton Arvin, Carleton Beals, Countee Cullen, Clifton P. Fadiman, Hatcher Hughes, Albert Maltz, Leane Zugsmith and Babette Deutsch.

Disturbed by the violence that has occurred in several cities where Clifford Odets' plays, "Waiting for Lefty" and "Till the Day I Die," have been produced, a number of leaders in the American Theatre have formed a Committee Against Censorship of the Theatre Arts. The Committee includes Elmer Rice, Brooks Atkinson, Joseph Wood Krutch, Michael Gold and others, and Madeline Brennan is secretary.

Doris Berger Welles, 1007 Empire Building, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, is collaborating with her mother on a biography of her father, the late Victor Berger, showing his influence upon the radical and labor movements. She would appreciate hearing from anyone who might contribute letters, documents or personal reminiscences.

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The King, Our Lady, Courage and Fortune

After Coronado, by Alfred B. Thomas. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press. 307 pages. $3.50.

LONG BEFORE 1540, as a fair number of people in America know at last, Cabeza de Vaca was writing letters to the most high, cultivated and powerful Emperor, Charles V, describing his experiences in the wilds of the Southwest, to which shipwreck and ironical fortunes had consigned him; and from which, after wandering years, he had escaped to Mexico. In 1541 Coronado was leading his glittering cavalcade northward, dreaming to find there the golden cities that persistent rumor and sharp legend told of. In the spring of that year Coronado, as the author tells us, left Pecos, the line of his march moving to the southwest. It seems agreed that his first meeting among the plains Indians was with the Apaches, and afterward the Teya nation, who, Indian-like, turned him northward toward their neighbors. Coronado's march reached at length the panhandles of Texas and Oklahoma, and finally Kansas, and the return followed more or less what was later the Santa Fé trail. I remember how, some years ago, when I read Castañeda's comment on Coronado's expedition—he was its chronicler—I was delighted and full of laughter at one of the remarks: "Granted that they did not find the riches of which they had been told, they found a place in which to search for them." Later readings, however, have softened that: as Mr. Thomas says, while Coronado found no great cities, his exploit disclosed a vast area northwest of New Mexico, ranged by Indians who always after that intrigued Spanish curiosity.

And yet, even among the Spaniards, interest in that part of the world glimpsed by Coronado waned for forty years. Affairs in Mexico were more than enough for the moment. Meantime, nevertheless, inevitably the frontier crept forward. The movement in due time began again; and the present volume offers us some of the half-dimmed record of Spanish exploration and colonization of that trans-Mississippi region from 1696 to 1727. The usual leap from Coronado to Pike is thus to some extent filled in, or at least the map of those epochs is colored with eventful narrative. As a matter of fact, for some time before landings were made in Virginia and religious freedom found a place to be as intolerant as it chose in New England, things were going on in Texas and the Southwest; and Professor Thomas traces the advance of the Spanish between 1541 and 1727. For the account of such movements and events the author draws on many diaries not before published in any form, on vice-regal correspondence, on proceedings of war councils and judicial investigations, on the reports of governors and the records of the Church. The picture of quiet tribes, or nations, there in the Southwest, disturbed and disrupted by the arrival of the warlike Comanches, the Spaniards and the Pueblos meanwhile terrified by this bloody tribe, and the punitive expeditions sent out by the New Mexican governors, is all admirably set forth. The beginnings of the Spanish and French struggle for domination in North America are predicted in those Frenchmen, wandering the ranges and rivers, rousing a frontier contest in strength and arms, and, furthermore, in those Spanish plans, though not successful, to occupy the Arkansas Valley. It must be said, also, that from the facts of this volume there ensues a certain dimming in our Anglo-Saxon story of the exploration of the West in the nineteenth century; since the Spaniards had already made known the people and the country as far north as Nebraska.

This volume of Professor Thomas's appears in what is called The Civilization of the American Indian Series. Reviewed properly, "After Coronado" belongs to some field where collegiate, or even what is commonly rated as learned, interests are involved: which usually means the finding of a few mistakes by scholarly parties either jealous or else emptily particular. The volume's excerpts from diaries are excellent. Its scope and understanding, and the balance of its investigation, are not by any means of the ordinary historical pattern. The region both geographical and epochal that it covers remains grave, wide, dangerous and complex. Nobody here goes out to explore and invent, fight and die, for some simple bait of right and wrong; these men are burnt and uplifted with some vastness and holy exaltation and strange simplicity. Their moods and their exploits cannot be recorded and cannot be forgotten. A historical volume that contains such items as "Spanish Expeditions Northwest of New Mexico, 1696-1727," with all the letters and data ensuing, cannot in a short space be reviewed save in some merely suggestive and innocuous manner.

The ordinary reader can only read of how, in a *rancheria* of the Apaches, the commander, Vicente de Saldívar Mendoza, found "fifty tents made of tanned hides, very bright red and white in color and bell-shaped, with flaps and openings, and built as skillfully as those of Italy, and so large that in the most ordinary ones four mattresses and beds were easily accommodated." Readers with more urgent imaginations may, among numberless other details and motivations, read of that impact of the Catholic faith, not perhaps more vivid than the Indian's, but at least more clearly motivated, upon the Indian imaginative cosmos. The field of that research spreads and spreads: "Though heathens," says the diary of Juan de Ulibarri to El Cuartelejo, 1706,

> the majority of the Apaches wear many crosses, medals and rosaries around their necks. We knew they were very old because the crosses are covered with perspiration and the chamois bags in which they carry them are very dirty and have been repaired. We asked them the reason they had for wearing crosses, medallions and rosaries without knowing what they wore. They replied that for many years they traded and had commerce with the Spaniards and they knew that because they wore crosses and rosaries and images of saints, they were very valiant; that there is no nation that can conquer them, and that when the Apaches fight with their enemies, the Pawnees and the Jumanos, and become tired, they remember the Great Captain of the Spaniards who is in the heavens and then their weariness leaves them and they feel refreshed.

STARK YOUNG.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Impartial Essence

THE REPETITIONS and blithe blunderings that Gertrude Stein has somehow managed to work into a style make her "Lectures in America"[1] hard for a critic to discuss. Though they have as their subject a theory of writing, they are expressed so girlishly that we are tempted not to ask how the various parts fit together.

The keystone of Gertrude Stein's literary theories seems to be her doctrine of "essence." She would get at the "essence" of the thing she is describing. She thus tends to consider literature primarily as *portraits*. She makes portraits, not only of people, but of landscapes; plays are to her little other than group portraits; and eventually people and landscapes become so interchangeable that a play can describe a landscape by assembling portraits of people. Hence let us, instead of attempting to follow the order of exposition in Miss Stein's book itself, build up her literary schema in our own way with "essence" as the starting point:

The essence of a thing would not be revealed in something that it does. It would be something that a thing is. The search for essence is the attempt "to express this thing each one being that one." A thing's essence is something that makes it distinct from other things; it is, as she says at another point, a thing's "melody." Since it is something that the thing *is*, action would tend to obscure it rather than reveal it. Hence:

> In my portraits I had tried to tell what each one is without telling stories and now in my early plays I tried to tell what happened without telling stories so that the essence of what happened would be like the essence of the portraits, what made what happened be what it was.

Suppose, now, that you held to such a doctrine of essence, and wanted in your writing to get down the absolute essence of each thing you wrote about. Consider the sort of problems, in both theory and method, that might arise. In the first place, you would have to worry about resemblance. In putting down the essence of Mr. A, you would have to guard against any tendency to think of him in terms of somebody he resembled—Mr. A1. Again, since essence is something that a thing now is, you would have to guard against the tendency to think of your subject in terms of memories (an exaction which might explain in part her tendency to feel that stories or acts obscure the perception of essence). And you would now have brought yourself to the paradoxical position wherein your knowledge of your subject's past or of people like him amounts to "confusion" (a sad state of affairs upon which Miss Stein dwells at some length).

At this point you might rebel; but if you go on, as Miss Stein did at her leisure, you will find attendant considerations arising. You will talk much about getting "inside" things (perhaps thus being led to note as the primary fact about English literature the stimulus it derived from insularity). And since you, as an *outsider*, are busied with the literary task of describing things until you get *inside* them, there will necessarily hover about your theories some hint of mystic communion. In time your doctrine of essence brings you to the metaphysical problem of the One and the Many, for if you start by trying to find wherein each one is that one, you begin to find a general intermingling; and particularly as you make that outside you to be inside you, you come, through the medium of yourself, upon a kind of universal essence:

> And so I say and I saw that a complete description of every kind of human being that ever could or would be living is not such a very extensive thing because after all it can be all contained inside in any one and finally it can be done.

How does this work out in practice? You start to write about something, to describe it, to make its portrait. You have a personal style, a set of mannerisms that suit your particular essence, and as you write you gradually get into the swing of them. When you get going, you are "excited." And since your excitement arises during your description of a thing, you may call this excitement the melody or essence of the thing. You may feel that each subject has its particular essence because you have used a particular combination of words in writing about it. But you feel the "unity" of all subjects because the quality of your excitement is the same in all cases (the way you feel when you get going), and you call this melody of yours the melody of the thing.

If the essence of external things is thus identified with the qualities of your style, you may tend to think of writing (description) primarily as a monologue act, done with little direct concern for an audience. And since this stylistic circulation about an object obliges you to consider the strategy of expression, you may arrive at the thoughts on the nature of naming that Miss Stein verbalizes as a shifty distinction between prose and poetry ("that is poetry really loving the name of anything and that is not prose").

However, you are now on the verge of a change. For the strategy of expression leads into considerations of the audience. From this point, you begin to suspect the suggestive values of narrative, since narrative unquestionably has a significant appeal to audiences. But at this point, if you are Miss Stein, you simply state that you have changed your opinion—and stop. As a kind of compromise between your initial notion of essence as non-dramatic and the fully revised notion that essence might best show itself in action, you may be grateful for her halfway metaphor: the essence is something like the engine in a car—a going without a destination.

It seems to me, however, that Miss Stein should have continued her revisionary process, until all the initial visionary assertions had been similarly modified. She might have considered, for instance, the ways in which remembrance and resemblance are inevitable; the ways in which the primary fact of English literature might be called its transcendence of insularity, etc. And then, and only then, should she have begun her book. As it stands, I maintain that it is (a) the first draft of a critical credo, (b) complicated by the co-presence of its revision, (c) further vitiated by the fact that the revisionary process was not applied to all its parts. Above all, I believe, a complete revision would require her to stress (at least in this "imperfect world" of history) the *dramatic*, the *active*, the *partisan*, in direct contrast with the feature of *passivity* that is now infused through her doctrine of portrait and essence.

KENNETH BURKE.

[1] Lectures in America, by Gertrude Stein. New York: Random House. 246 pages $2.50.

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Reaction in the Saddle

The Nazi Dictatorship: A Study in Social Pathology and the Politics of Fascism, by Frederick L. Schuman. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 512 pages. $3.

DR. SCHUMAN'S book on the Nazi dictatorship is no harmless academic performance. It is not impartial—if by impartiality is meant an aloofness from the bitter tragedy, a carelessness as to its meaning and outcome. It is not objective—if objectivity means a refusal to draw significant conclusions from the mass of facts available. The book teems with facts of the most pregnant sort, but it is also charged with deep emotion. Dr. Schuman detests the Nazi dictatorship and all its works. He finds in it not one redeeming feature. It holds out for the future no hope that might reconcile him to its present evils. It has brought nothing but increasing misery to the German people, and it is an ever present menace to the peace of Germany's neighbors.

Fascism is an international phenomenon. It is not confined to Italy and Germany. Wherever the working classes —urban and rural proletariat and the poorer peasantry— become rebellious, disturb the orderly functioning of the existing economic and political order, yet lack the power or the intelligence to effect a social revolution in their own interest, there a dictatorship arises to "save society." It has been objected that in Italy the march on Rome came after the workers had given up the factories they had seized, and that in Germany all Communist attempts at revolt had been effectively suppressed by the Socialists, then in possession of the government. This is true, but immaterial. Of course it is the legally constituted authorities who suppress rebellion, but that does not prevent aspiring dictators from turning the situation to their own advantage. It is precisely because the workers have been defeated and disarmed, while the ruling classes are in a state of trepidation, that the dictator is welcomed as the savior of society.

The origin and evolution of German fascism is complicated by the special post-war situation of Germany. There was in Munich an insignificant little political sect, which called itself the German Labor Party; it was hardly heard of outside the walls of the beer hall in which it held its occasional meetings. It was founded by Gottfried Feder, an engineer, who—like other engineers when they turn economic theorists—entertained the oddest notions concerning economic problems. According to Feder, the key to German economic difficulties lay in the distinction between two kinds of capital: unproductive, exploitive, Jewish and international loan-capital; and productive, honest, national-German capital. The former, of course, ought to be suppressed, the latter preserved and cherished. This precious economic doctrine was paralleled by a political doctrine that emanated from the General Staff of the defeated army and was widely held in Germany, according to which socialists and communists, liberals and Jews had stabbed the army in the back, brought on the military defeat and were responsible for the Versailles peace. When Hitler, the ex-soldier, joined Feder's little sect, he fused the two doctrines into one, introduced novel and effective methods of propaganda, and turned the little sect into a great mass movement of peasants, urban middle classes, lords of land and capital, and all patriotic *(i.e.,* alien-hating) elements. It became a truly "national" movement, in which all class differentiations vanished.

But since the classes did not thereby cease to exist outside of the meeting places and offices of the National Socialist Party, it became necessary to preach the doctrine that class conflicts must be abolished. The Marxists had been preaching the same doctrine for many years, but they based it upon the actual abolition of classes through the abolition of private property in land and capital. The National Socialists, on the contrary, were for abolishing class conflicts while retaining the existing order, and were thus playing into the hands of the landowners and capitalists, for whom the actual class conflict signified the demands of the workers for higher wages, improved working conditions, extended social services. This doctrine also pleased the lower middle classes, who, as employees of the state and of the great capitalist organizations, or as owners of small capital with but few employees, are themselves engaged in useful work, and conceive themselves to be above all class distinctions—in fact, the only true representatives of the nation as a whole.

The National Socialist Party, originally anti-capitalistic in a partial and confused way, was thus transformed into a pretorian guard of the ruling classes. As such, it received considerable subsidies, multiplied its propaganda, came to outnumber every other single party, and was entrusted with power in peaceful, orderly and legal fashion—at least according to recent practice under Hindenburg's presidency. To get a detailed comprehension of the complicated intrigue by which the Nazi assumption of power was accomplished, the reader must turn to Dr. Schuman's pages. For refusing to oppose the forces of reaction, rather than uniting against them with the Communists, the Socialists were rewarded with the outlawing of their party and the total destruction of the seventy-year-old German labor movement. The Communists, of course, shared the same fate. Dr. Schuman emphasizes the fact that all these things were done without the slightest show of resistance, so that there was not the least excuse for the violence and terror of the dictatorship.

The complete subservience of the dictatorship to the old ruling classes and interests gave rise to considerable unrest within the Nazi ranks. There were those who called for a "second revolution." Others aimed at getting control of the regular army. The result was the purge of June 30, 1934, in which there were killed, not 77 as Hitler claimed, but 1,186, according to the best information Dr. Schuman could obtain. The purge, in its turn, considerably strengthened the hold of the regular army chiefs on the dictatorship.

Perhaps the final proof that nothing has changed in Germany except for the worse, that the old ruling classes that made the War and lost it are still in the saddle and more firmly seated than ever, is furnished by the foreign policy of the dictatorship. It is the old policy in a new and exaggerated form. By menacing Austria, it has turned Mussolini into an enemy. By demanding the return of the colonies, it has estranged England. By proposing the partition of the Soviet Union, it has revolutionized Soviet foreign policy. It is disturbing the internal peace and external security of all its smaller neighbors. And the ultimate goal of Nazi policy has been proclaimed to be nothing less than the absorption of all European Germans in the Reich and the formation of a chain of dependencies—the Netherlands, Flemish Belgium, German Switzerland, the Scandinavian States. A mad policy like this may succeed in reducing Germany and much of Europe to ruins, but it is bound to defeat itself.

Although this book is the work of a man, not of a political eunuch, I dare say that if the Nazi dictatorship were now a thing of the past, it would be regarded as a

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definitive treatment of its subject. It is detailed, comprehensive and thorough (Dr. Schuman, himself of Prussian and Hanoverian stock, illustrates admirably the Teutonic quality of *Gründlichkeit*); yet it is written in a simple, clear, highly readable style. The material has been completely mastered and ordered. There are many passages of grace and power. It is the work of a man keenly alive to the world's realities and illusions, its divisions of class and groupings of interest, its struggles for mere bread and mere existence and its strivings for more wealth and more power, its traditions and catchwords and strategems by which the many can be persuaded and coerced into doing the will of the few. It is the expression of a high type of scholarship, though not of the cloistered kind.

HERMAN SIMPSON.

Success Story

The Autobiography of John Hays Hammond. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 2 vols. 813 pages. $5.

THIS IS the story of a man whose life is a perfect pattern for the wish-dream of millions of blighted, underprivileged Americans, themselves never successful, rarely happy, admired by none. There is nothing missing here, nothing, that would belong in such a fable. Ancestors, remembered for deeds of heroism are here, and parents, honored in the community and full of understanding. A California boyhood with explorations on horseback into frontier regions and the first gold panned at the age of ten. Encounters with Chinese placer miners and Indians, bears, dangers and hairbreadth escapes.

And off he goes at sixteen, our hero who lives the dream for us, to get him some social polish at an Eastern preparatory school. Stopping at the White House he is presented to General Grant's Cabinet by General Grant, with the most flattering remark imaginable. Stopping at Yale, he has long rounds of athletics, fights, good fellowship, and some bores of finals, which he passes with a mixture of dash, luck and a minimum of study. Then off he is to Europe, roaming through its capitals with jolly classmates, studying for three years at the most famous mining school of the time (Freiberg in Saxony), and meeting the girl, the big thing, the one and only. She *would* be with her uncle who *would* be a distinguished Confederate general, so that the elder Hammond *would* reply "delightedly" with memories of the girl's most acceptable family. But before the girl will say yes he must clean up an athletic contest held before the Queen of Saxony. He promptly wins four contests out of five, and, stumbling gracefully as he receives the cup from the hand of the Queen herself, leaves the German audience "gasping at the astounding grace of the American youth."

Senator Hearst, father of William Randolph and friend of the elder Hammond, gives him his first job in America, and he is off up the ladder to professional fame and fabulous fees. At twenty-five he refuses a job as superintendent of the Homestake Mine, largest in the world, takes one with the government as surveyor of the mineral wealth of the West. Then dangers and successes in Mexico and Idaho, fights with bandits, with drunken prize-fighters (who get the worst of it), with radical American workers. After enough of this, the call to Africa. Here he is associated with that limitless double-dealer and humanitarian, Cecil Rhodes—in whose cause and pay he leads a revolution against the Boer government of the Transvaal. All for "sound business reasons"; no highfalutin principles of any kind. The revolution fails, he is tried, sentenced to death; and this is all very irritating to Mr. Hammond.

There is no execution, of course. It costs Cecil Rhodes just $600,000, a handful of jingle, to buy Hammond and associates out of the noose. But there is still glamor; this all belongs in the dream—though from here on the story runs thinner. It runs to social life in London (for what is one a hero, for nothing?), more mining in Africa, trips to Russia and Mexico.

Before he was fifty, Hammond was rich enough to retire from active business, and the rest is politics. From Grant on he had known all the American Presidents but one; and Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, Harding and Coolidge became his personal friends (Taft the most personal of all). It is a little hard to see, though, of what his political services actually consisted, beyond losing in golf, often but unwillingly, to the obese Chief Executive. But there were honors at least: offers of ambassadorships, Cabinet positions, receptions at the courts in London, Rome, Madrid, etc. And now when he is eighty, with his large family comfortably about him, he tries his hand at writing and makes the best-seller list.

The book is truly the picture of a crammed and busy life, an immense canvas, lacking only in essentials. Seemingly, there was never a crisis that shook the man, nor any mental suffering, nor any real sympathy with other human beings. Smugly, in the upper social crust, it begins, and smugly it continues. The story is pervaded from beginning to end with a naïve adoration of important people; but there is no touch of portraiture in the book that might bring any of these hollow names to life. Here and there, representative of the lower classes, appears a tramp or penniless prospector who has a sufficiently romantic story to move Mr. Hammond to buy a meal or suit of clothes, and who infallibly makes good forthwith, to come back many a year afterward, prosperous in a modest befitting way, expressive of undying gratitude. ("I never lost my liking for cranks and odd characters in general, as they have afforded me amusement and sometimes indeed valuable suggestions.")

The one part of Hammond's life that gives it any historical interest is his association with the aggressive phase of modern imperialism, and here again he is inarticulate and hazy. One feels that if he were to learn today that such a thing as the movement in which he took so proud a part existed, Mr. John Hays Hammond would be vastly surprised. His attitude and "philosophy" bear comparison with those of another great engineer, who also went treasure hunting all over the globe before coming to a political career. But even if Mr. Hoover had fluttered about in American politics as ineffectually as Mr. Hammond did for thirty years, the comparison would still be unjust. Mr. Hoover may lack something in imagination and human touch, but he was never quite so completely obtuse.

The only passage that strikes a touching note in these two volumes occurs in the very last chapter, where the man seems for a second to become pathetically aware of his shortcomings: "The reader may feel that in telling this story I have left out certain human values. This may be true. The momentum of events has carried me along. . . . One may be a guest at a dinner where the conversation proves so enthralling as to make one oblivious to the food." The trouble in his case seems to have been that, during the long, opulent dinner of his life, the food proved so enthralling that he forgot to make any conversation at all, beyond occasionally asking would someone please pass the gravy.

PETER OLDEN.

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Science: Weapon or Tool?

The Frustration of Science, by various authors. With a Foreword by Frederick Soddy. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 144 pages. $2.

Tools of Tomorrow, by Jonathan Norton Leonard. New York: The Viking Press. 320 pages, illustrated. $3.

OF THE seven contributors to "The Frustration of Science"—all English—only one clearly and boldly expresses its central theme: "Though probably few of my scientific colleagues agree with me," Dr. P. M. S. Blackett says in the title essay, "I believe that it is not at all irrelevant to science, but on the contrary of enormous importance, which of the two, the workers or the owners, dominates the state." Owner-domination, in its capitalist and swiftly maturing fascist forms, has transformed science from a benign Prometheus into a murderous Cyclops who destroys even his sheep. Sir Daniel Hall, virtually agreeing with what Lenin said a generation ago ("it has not become more difficult to produce food; it has become more difficult for the workers to obtain it"), sees no hope for agriculture outside of the Soviet Union. Aviation, architecture, metallurgy, chemistry, medicine and biology—all are under bond, not to keep the peace but to maintain profits, no matter what the cost to humanity at large. In measured, almost glacial style, Dr. P. A. Gorer outlines the possibilities of bacterial warfare, and J. G. Crowther, with the aid of statistics, demolishes the myth that war has, in any genuine sense, contributed to the development of aviation. "The Invention of Sterility," as a biological fact, is credited to capitalist industrialization by Dr. Enid Charles in a revealing essay, while the entire field of so-called "industrial research" is shown by Dr. J. D. Bernal to be little better than a concentration camp for dangerous talent and a graveyard for good intentions.

Turning from this grim picture to that provided by the biographer of Charles Proteus Steinmetz is like coming upon an oasis in the desert: a very inaccessible oasis in a most endless desert. Mr. Leonard has written, with no little charm and much enthusiasm, a fascinating story of "our mechanical slaves," whose infinite variety and colossal productive powers are the despair of economists, business men and labor leaders. Half of "Tools of Tomorrow" is taken up with the story of power and energy, prime movers, metals and a few of their 10,000 alloys. The picture is one of tremendous material assets, held out of use or deliberately sabotaged by Mr. Leonard's oversimplified aversions: politicians and financiers. (And what does the author mean by exempting the technicians from all social responsibility for their work? Or by his astonishing statement—backed up by a reference to the C.C.C.—that "part of the population not engaged in economic production might enjoy being supported at a low standard of living"?)

Here is the die-casting machine, basic to all heavy and much light industry. Technical improvements have made it possible to approach complete "automaticity," so that production, in one case, reaches the staggering figure of nearly 12,000 pieces a day. Two such machines, operating on half-time, "would produce carburetor bowls or radiator caps for the entire automobile industry." The fabulous "broaching machine" utilizes the principle of the file to finish as many as 1,000 pieces an hour: this device is playing its part in the labor distress noted by the N.R.A. Research and Planning Division in its recent report on the Automobile Industry. "Mult-au-matics" perform a whole series of independent operations with the precision of clockwork; photo-electric cells are replacing the human senses in numerous exacting tasks, such as the rejection of defective units and the discrimination among sizes, shapes, even colors. Passing to transport and communication, Mr. Leonard gives a tantalizing picture of future possibilities—mostly in the fields of aviation and television.

But all this—so similar to what the Technocrats were telling us three years ago—merely scratches the surface. Nothing is said about machinery in agriculture, in the iron and steel, mining, chemical, oil and textile industries; nor do we obtain even a glimpse of the rapidly developing field of business machines, calculators and the uncanny "servo-mechanisms." These omissions are regrettable; it would be good if Mr. Leonard rectified them soon in an even larger and more fully illustrated book. HAROLD WARD.

Counsellor of Perfection

Milton, by Hilaire Belloc. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company. 313 pages. $4.

Milton, by Rose Macaulay. New York: Harper and Brothers. 161 pages. $2.

THE PARAMOUNT characteristic of Milton is his dislocation from his age, that astounding separation from the normal currents of seventeenth-century English literary culture which makes any analysis of him impossible save in terms of a unique logic and another age. "He was the least English, and the most alien, of the English poets. One approaches him dubiously . . . rather in fascinated surprise than in love, for here seems a phoenix, that self-begotten bird from afar, of brilliant plumage and strange cries." Rose Macaulay gets the matter straight here, although she seems unsure of it later, and weakens a very charming little biography. Touch Milton deeply at any point, and his relationship to the age seems merely external and occasional. He was influenced by the English Reformation only as it remained a Renaissance. At a time when scholarship was becoming more pragmatic and specialized, he continued as the last of the great Renaissance scholars, that type which begins with Petrarch and perhaps ends only with Dr. Johnson. Milton *used* different literary schools where others were merely identified with them. He exhausted the pseudo-Spenserian school of Browne and Fletcher long before he achieved poetic maturity, and yet the only Spenserian note in his work that endures is the morphology of "The Faërie Queene."

His isolation was enhanced by his general priggishness and selfishness. He was not a very amiable man. Of his three wives, he loved only the second, but she died in childbirth, together with the son he wanted so badly, and this soured him completely. He went through life searching for the moral ideal in experience; he did not find it and changed his values to quantitative ones, and in "Samson Agonistes" he had his ideal hero only because Samson possessed all the external characteristics he wanted so badly and couldn't have. Miss Macaulay gets this side of Milton very well, but she is too staid in her characterization. For an exceedingly clever woman she takes Milton too heavily. "God reveals the truth first to His Englishmen," he said, and he believed it. He had all the wooden solemnity of a gifted and humorless man.

Mr. Belloc avoids this Milton completely, of course, in his hunt for the heretical one. For a long time now, Mr. Belloc has enjoyed a reputation as a critic among historians, and as an historian among critics and literary students. It is time for an exchange of notes. There is in this book the

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usual zestful platitudinizing and arrogant carelessness masquerading as vigorous criticism. His attacks on the "De Doctrina" (which attempted to disprove the divinity of Christ through textual criticism of the Bible) are salty and well written, but grotesquely irrelevant. And yet, in the midst of the gracious and garrulous information that "the Greek for poet means a maker," that Cromwell betrayed Charles I and that Milton knew it, and that Milton's "Divorce Tracts" are a genetic cause of contemporary irreverence, one does get some lusty and able criticism of the sonnets and the epic poems. What he gets best is the heroic Milton—the blind, persecuted and unyielding poetic artist, forging ahead triumphantly to write theological epics in an age when the predominant literary form was the comedy of manners:

Then all this Earthy grosnes quit,
Attir'd with Stars, we shall for ever sit,
Triumphing over Death, and Chance, and thee,
O Time.

ALFRED KAZIN.

The Disassembly Line

Conveyor, by James Steele. New York: International Publishers. $1.75.

IN "CONVEYOR" James Steele has done an effective and interesting job of telling what happened to a Detroit automotive worker during the first depression years. Jim Brogan is convincing as a character, but he is also a good class type: without strain on one's credulity he experiences an essential share of the misfortunes and attrition that were the lot of his kind in the period covered by the book.

Steele's understanding of the time and place first scores when he begins the motor worker's hard time with the "prosperity" year 1928. It is during the Smith-Hoover campaign that Jim Brogan, in accordance with his established habit, defies a boss and jumps a job on which he has been gypped out of part of his pay. But when he goes looking for more work, after a week of rest, he finds to his ultimate despair that every plant of account in the district has a before-dawn employment line blocks in length, and that provocation and mistreatment by the police are becoming part of the routine method of reducing such lines and keeping the despair of the workers from developing into open militance.

Jim Brogan's possessions are wrenched from him in a grim, uneven struggle. His house goes, then his insurance, then his furniture. Meanwhile his morale is seriously injured. He takes to drink. Marie, his wife, finds employment in the industry that rejects him. When finally the two of them are regularly, and exhaustingly, employed, their total income fails to outreach current expenses, which by now include the baby's medical bills.

The author connects the increased ferocity of exploitation in the industry with the struggle for dominance between the two major motor enterprises. As the story draws to a close, the workers at the "River Rohte" plant, where Jim is employed, are actually operating under the guns of patroling servicemen. In the end Jim's family leaves to take up residence with his wife's people, while Jim, recovering from a beating incurred in a scrap with servicemen, for the first time feels that only the left-wing union can serve the motor workers as a weapon against capitalism in its convulsive stage. MURRAY GODWIN.

Books in Brief

The England of Charles II, by Arthur Bryant. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 217 pages. $2.

THIS SMALL volume sketches lightly and vividly the surfaces of English life in a golden period. The robust and rollicking mood befits some phases of the time admirably; but on the whole the book is an easy interpretation of the past by a progressivist present. The love of maggoty Stilton, the enormous consumption of ale everywhere, the riots of London butchers and the blunt impatience (even in the Court) with increasing courtliness, are given more space than the interests of such men as John Dryden, Samuel Cooper and Henry Purcell. Such persons come to seem artificial by-products of a fighting, roistering racial stock. Intellectual interests are excluded to such an extent that the animosity towards Quakers is blamed on their nudism rather than on their anti-rational "inner light." But the sketch is done joyously and affectionately; it presents "daily life" with a vivid and specific detail that makes one forgive certain facile inaccuracies: it is very readable. G. G. S.

The Loom of Justice, by Ernst Lothar. Translated by Willa and Edwin Muir. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.50.

Has anyone the right to release from life a beloved person suffering from an incurable disease? Ernst Lothar, who studied law in Vienna, has expressed this problem in the dramatic terms of a trial in court. For years, the Herr Oberlandesgerichtsrat Haushofer has been the harshest magistrate on the bench. After acceding to the pleas of his afflicted wife and entering with her a pact of suicide by poison from which he recovers, he himself is put on trial for murder; on moving from the bench to the dock, he distinguishes at last between legal statutes and human justice. And this is the nucleus of the story. Herr Lothar is well acquainted with Salzburg and cleverly offsets his drama against the city's annual festivities. But he fails to portray the extreme pain Lina must have undergone before her husband would have attempted to carry through such a final and tragic decision. Only in rare instances does the author manage to pump blood into Haushofer and his children. In his rather *a-priori* conversion of a case-book problem into a novel, Herr Lothar neglected to capture the breathing plausibility of life. F. V.

Dark Canyon, by W. L. River and Frank Wead. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. $2.

This is an epic, based on an epic subject—the building of a great dam. The engineer, as hero, is pitted against the untamed river, fate; the workers emerge as recognizable humans, assert their rights, and occasionally fight for them; the promoter who is financing the construction bobs up now and then, a dyspeptic and unhappy villain, whose irresponsible pettiness has frequently tragic results. But the work continues, and the dam is finally built. The only difficulty is that epics should be written by poets. Whenever the present authors begin talking about the mighty river one has a sensation of having picked up James Oliver Curwood by mistake. The engineer himself is neither a symbolic figure nor a definite character; the use of words symbolically sometimes fails to come off. Despite these defects of execution, the book manages to attain a considerable emotional tension and, in the final chapters especially, has a flow not unlike the sweep of a river. J. W.

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The Sea Is My Workshop: Memoirs of a Life Guard, by Frank E. Walton, Jr. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 240 pages. $2.50.

There is no floss about this narrative of a life guard on a public swimming beach, no intellectual or emotional pretense; it's a simple, straightforward and pretty genuine account of an occupation, its casualties and its reliefs. Out of the story comes a sense of gritty sand, hot sun and needle-showers, hard work and no thanks, and the reality is as casually created as it would be if an ordinary coal miner or steel worker tried to tell, in an unemphatic way, about his job, with the graft and favoritism mentioned but taken for granted. The chief guard, Yellow, who wouldn't go near the water, who kept his place through political pull and worked the men under him sleepless and ragged, has the aliveness any mean, incompetent boss should have in a story about an occupation. For a slant on another grueling way of making a living, "The Sea Is My Workshop" is a good book to read. K. W.

Southeast of Zamboanga, by Vic Hurley. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 237 pages. $3.

Tugina of the Ifugao was a noted head-hunter, but he could not cope with the trucks and taxis of the American jungle, and in the same way Vic Hurley was defeated in his attempt to clear a coconut plantation in the wilderness of Mindinao, although he was a noted athlete. He had romantic dreams of tropical paradises, but found loneliness insupportable and was racked by malaria. And none of the native women appealed to him, although their price was very low. He dreaded becoming a squaw man, and his book is a warning against pioneering in the torrid zone. But despite his pessimistic mood he records some interesting particulars of native customs among the seventeen aboriginal tribes of the island, and generally is in favor of the white man's burden—so long as more highly pigmented people will help to carry it. J. G.

Contributors

STERLING D. SPERO is the author of "The Labor Movement in a Government Industry" and co-author, with Abram L. Harris, of "The Black Worker." He is also co-author of the Twentieth Century Fund's recently published study: "Labor and the Government."

CARLETON BEALS, author of "The Crime of Cuba," "Fire in the Andes" and other books, was in Cuba during the recent general strike, and subsequently.

LEO C. ROSTEN has traveled in Europe and studied at the London School of Economics. Recently he was awarded the Field Fellowship of the Social Science Research Council and is spending a year in Washington studying the work of newspaper correspondents there.

PETER OLDEN is a native of Berlin, formerly on the editorial staff of the Vossische Zeitung, who has taught History at the Universities of St. Louis and Louisville and is now writing for the Louisville Courrier-Journal.

HAROLD WARD is interested in the sciences primarily from the point of view of what they can be made to do, or kept from doing. He is a frequent contributor to The Living Age, The New Masses and The New Republic.

ALFRED KAZIN, graduated recently from the College of the City of New York, reports his main interests as having been for a long time in the field of seventeenth-century religious poetry, but right now does not know what they are in, "because I am looking for a job."

MURRAY GODWIN used to do publicity for Henry Ford. He has been free-lancing for several years and has recently finished a novel.

The initials signed to the brief reviews are those of George Sherburn, Frances Valensi, Jean Winkler, Kenneth White and Joe Gould.

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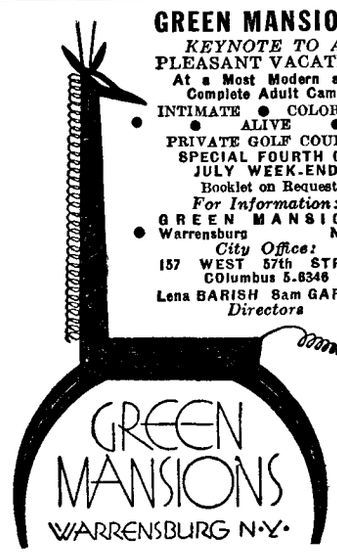

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